

The Formation of the Greek People

A. Jardé

Translated by M. R. Dobie

The History of Civilization



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THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

THE FORMATION OF THE
GREEK PEOPLE

THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

General Editor C. K. Ogden

The *History of Civilization* is a landmark in early twentieth Century publishing. The aim of the general editor, C. K. Ogden, was to “summarise in one comprehensive synthesis the most recent findings and theories of historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and all conscientious students of civilization.” The *History*, which includes titles in the French series *L’Evolution de l’Humanité*, was published at a formative time in the development of the social sciences, and during a period of significant historical discoveries.

A list of the **titles** in the series can be found at the end of this book.

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M. R. Dobie



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this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the
original may be apparent

TO
MY MASTERS AND FRIENDS
THÉOPHILE HOMOLLE AND MAURICE HOLLEAUX
SOMETIME DIRECTORS
OF THE FRENCH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

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FOREWORD

THE GREEK "MIRACLE"

THE Greek "miracle"? Since the day when it came from Renan's pen, this striking phrase has been incessantly repeated and often discussed. Only those reject it who fear that "miracle" may be understood in the sense which Christian mysticism gives to the word. The miracle, in the mystic sense, is that which occurs, not without a cause—nothing is born of nothing—but without a cause of a natural order, which escapes determinism. It is obvious that if we had to understand by "Greek miracle" the irrational appearance of an historical phenomenon of first magnitude—Hellenic civilization—if by using this word we had to revive the kind of historical interpretation of which St. Augustine has given a model in his *City of God* and Bossuet in his *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle*, it would be necessary to reject an expression so compromising for science.

But the word is perfectly legitimate if we maintain its proper, etymological meaning of an object worthy of admiration. It even implies something more—the unexpected, the surprising. The "miracle," no doubt, should not be interpreted according to a providentialist philosophy of history; but it equally excludes a rigidly logical philosophy of history in the manner of the German idealists. Miracle implies contingency. An aggregate of favourable contingencies, an exceptional concurrence of happy circumstances, supplies the logic in the case of a "miraculous" people—as in the case of a "genius" or a "masterpiece." First we assert the miracle; then we may seek to explain it.

The Greek "miracle" cannot be denied. All who have known Greece have prayed, in their own fashion, on the Acropolis. All who have studied her works have proclaimed the debt of mankind. "There was once, on the globe, a little corner of

earth . . . where, beneath the fairest of skies, among inhabitants gifted with a unique intellectual organization, letters and arts spread over the things of nature like a second light, for all peoples and for all generations to come." The commentary on these words of Ingres¹ may be found in all that has been written about Greece. Herr Gomperz speaks of the "extraordinary intellectual splendour of which this corner of earth, blessed above all others, was the seat,"—and, above all, Athens, "glorious Athens, crowned with violets," as the poets said. "How poor mankind would be if there had been no Athens!"²

Nowhere, in antiquity, had the individual man a greater value, nowhere was the organization of social life, by the action of the law itself, more favourable to the full development of the individual. "In Athens," Thucydides said, "a man is esteemed, with regard to the common good, less by his rank than by his personal worth." It was there that democracy was born; we cannot deny to Athens the merit of having made the experiment the first, "of having, as it were, illustrated some of its best aspects, and of having thereby given to the future a useful example, a fruitful lesson."³

Greece created humanity and liberty, and beyond all others she created beauty and wisdom.

Elsewhere art had been chiefly realistic, impressionist; here the poet and the artist played in an ideal world of images.⁴

¹ Quoted by Lechat at the beginning of his charming little book *La Sculpture grecque*, p. 5. T. Gomperz, at the head of his great work *Griechische Denker* (Eng. trans., *Greek Thinkers*), quotes these words of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: "To one small people . . . it was given to create the principle of Progress. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." "A privileged people," "prodigal sons," "children of the gods"; so Caro-Delvaile speaks of the Greeks in a recent book, *Phidias, ou le Génie grec*.

² T. Gomperz, Vol. II, p. 31. Cf. Maurice Croiset, *La Civilisation hellénique*, Vol. II, conclusion, and particularly the last lines: "The last word of this study can only be the expression of a feeling of admiration and gratitude for the little nation of antiquity to whom we owe so much"; Lechat, op. cit., conclusion: "Ancient Greece remains very near to us, in virtue of all those eternal elements which she introduced into the very foundations of human civilization. For most of the inventions of her spirit she could each time repeat *κρῆμα eis del.*" In art and literature, in all that belongs to the realm of thought and reason, we are her heirs and her continuers for ever; she set up for humanity its final framework" (p. 146); and C. Jullian, "La Conversion du monde à l'Hellénisme," in the *Revue Bleue*, 15th April and 6th and 20th May, 1922.

³ M. Croiset, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88.

⁴ "Greece inaugurated art properly so called, generalizing art, not made for the eyes and minds of Greeks alone. Egypt had had Egyptian art; with the art of Greece human art truly begins." (Lechat, op. cit., p. 143.)

Rich in varied elements, the religion of the Greeks has above all the distinctive feature of having been handled, penetrated, transformed by poetic imagination. It could mingle the more intimately in all the activities of man, and, instead of weighing him down, could favour the development of all his faculties. In becoming thus human, religion humanized nature ; it gradually brought into it a notion of law, born of social life, which reinforced the intuition of law, born of practical life, of adaptation to phenomena.

Among the peoples whose ancient civilizations have been studied in the earlier volumes of this series, the minds of men, "essentially utilitarian," continued, in the same direction, the mental progress which we have seen taking place in the course of animal evolution and attaining remarkable results in the Anthropoid. "All these hard-working men, farmers, founders, architects, sculptors, accomplish material work, which remains bound up with the sod which they turn over, with the bronze which they hammer and cut, with the clay which they mould and glaze, with the syenite and the jade which they polish like mirrors. As against these mechanicals, the Aryan races think, or at least they think more ; they have a singular aptitude for combining representations."¹ The concept, "that mechanism of a mental order, almost liberated from the muscular system," appears in the foreground of the life of the spirit ; and something new is the result—the play of ideas, thought for the pleasure of understanding, and not merely for the immediate convenience of action."²

No doubt the play of ideas has its dangers. The thought which indulges in it may, just like the imagination when excited, stray, far or a little, from the positive data furnished by representation and applied in technical processes.³ But gradually it disengages these positive elements ; it incorporates them more

¹ H. Ouvré, *Les Formes littéraires de la pensée grecque*, p. 2.

² "Excess of seriousness led the animal to take that which was useful to him in things for the reality of the things ; and, seeking to master them, he actually made himself dependent on them. To repair this mistake it was, without doubt, necessary that a grain of fancy and dreams should appear in one species, to modify the passionate attention which the animal usually paid to his practical ends." (Pradines, *Principes de toute philosophie de l'action*, p. 121, quoted by Roustan, "La Science comme instrument vital," in the *Rev. de Mét. et de Mor.*, Sept., 1914, p. 626.) Cf. R. Lenoir, "La Mentalité primitive," *ibid.*, April-June, 1922, p. 219.

³ See L. Weber, *Le Rythme du progrès* ; and *Bull. de la Soc. franç. de Philosophie*, Feb.-March, 1914. Cf. our Forewords to *Prehistoric Man*, p. xii, and *Language*, p. xix, in this series.

and more in speculation, to serve as ballast ; it even ends, firmly attached to the real, by creating technology and science.¹

This prodigious development of individuality and thought is all the more interesting because it led to new problems—and problems with which man has been faced ever since. Reflection has its advantages, and it has its drawbacks. To reflect on life is to perceive all its miseries, its uglinesses, and its contradictions ; thereby the vital impulse is broken or slowed down.² On the other hand, reflection may remove the harmful or disputable elements brought into human life by the spontaneous action of various forces, by collective and individual appetites. The evolution of humanity is civilization developing, and civilization criticizing itself. More reflection can cure the evils which reflection brings.

In devoting so many volumes of this section to Greece, we believe that we are only giving her what is her due.³

The first and last volumes give an outline of the great historical framework. They analyse the various contingencies of place, race, and individuals, and bring out the circumstances of every kind which contributed to the organization of the Greek cities, created Hellenic civilization, and then caused it to radiate far and wide.

Three volumes are intended to show special features of the Greek genius ; the part played by religion, art, and philosophy, the relationship between the three, the development of speculation, and the origins of the experimental spirit are there examined with a special view to determining the contribution of Greece—her decisive contribution—to that mental logic whose development we are tracing from the beginnings of language, in the first dawn of prehistory.

Before the volume which will show the “ Hellenistic ” expansion of Greek civilization—in consequence of Macedonian imperialism—the last volume but one will bring into relief all that was original in the Greek city ; it will show why its institutions were at once so fragile and so fruitful for the future.

¹ See Espinas, *Les Origines de la technologie* ; cf. R. Lenoir, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

² See Gomperz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Chap. I. When, by various ways, “ Athenian philosophy penetrates Judaism,” it is that philosophy which “ provokes the doubt, the spirit of enquiry, the scepticism, with which *Ecclesiastes* and *Job* are impregnated ” ; see Kreglinger, *La Religion d’Israël*, p. 250.

³ In addition to the six volumes of *L’Evolution de l’humanité*, to which the following remarks refer, the English series includes *Ancient Greece at Work*, an economic history by M. Gustave Glotz.

FOREWORD

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Our effort, or at least our intention, is, as is known, to decompose history into its essential elements. It is not merely in order of time, nor of convenience of exposition, but of causality—as far as possible—that our volumes and their contents are arranged. And if it is said that the ordering of the matter here is not noticeably different from the traditional methods, we shall reply that, without doubt, historical reality has always imposed, in greater or less degree, a certain arrangement of subject; but that we take this arrangement, to adapt it better to the subject, and above all to justify it from a fully explanatory point of view.

Following on the volumes devoted to the civilizations of the East, and in particular that in which the strange, brilliant Ægean civilization is reconstructed, the present volume explains the Greek miracle as far as it can be done.

With the vividness which is given by inward pictures born of direct vision, M. Jardé evokes the "landscape" of Greece. He shows the advantages of the environment, which is temperate and varied, and sufficiently fertile—but demands the effort of man. And he confirms in a most interesting manner the ideas expressed by M. Febvre. "We must," he says in his turn, "abandon any attempt at a geographical determinism which would explain Greek civilization by its environment. In this same country, in which natural conditions remain the same, the whole of life is transformed as soon as the peoples change. From the consideration of the country, which has shown us of what it was capable, we must pass to that of the peoples, who could turn these possibilities into realities." ¹

The chapter on origins ends with certain wise conjectures on the early migrations. If M. Jardé sets himself to differentiate the various populations of Greece, he seeks the cause of these differences chiefly in the action of "time," in the "succession of events." Perhaps an ethnologist would lay more stress on the generic character of the first occupants. But M. Jardé is, and sets out to be, an historian; it is in the actions and reactions of geography and history, and therefore in the activity of man, that he sees the essential factor. "To explain the peoples, we have to call in history itself. The influences of environment and innate qualities are not to be neglected, but both combine

¹ P. 54. Cf. E. Pittard's *Race and History* in this series, and our Foreword, pp. xi ff.

*variously according to the historical evolution of each group, and it is down time, in the sequence of events, that we must see the peoples forming and developing."*¹

What effect had geographical divisions? What effect had certain particular tendencies, an innate individualism? M. Jardé abstains from a pronouncement; but he states that the essential characteristic of Greek history is the juxtaposition of small states in close contact, yet perfectly distinct. The intensity of life here is partly a consequence of the intrinsic qualities of these little collective individualities, and partly of their relations, interchanges, common need of expansion, and economic ties, and also—in contrast to Phœnician expansion—of the moral ties which bound the cities of Greece with the neighbouring islands and stretched to the shores of that sea "which does not separate, but unites."

Greek individualism is so strong that it causes a marvellous civilization to arise, but prevents political concentration. One thinks—mutatis mutandis—of the Germany of the XVIIIth century and of the beginning of the XIXth, in which there was a host of states leading their own lives, but the courts (sometimes minute) and the Universities fostered, not without brilliance, a national literature and a national philosophy. case and in the other, unity was created from outside; Macedon was the Prussia of Greece. And M. Jardé is right when he says that with the formation of the Greek people Greek history really ends. A new history begins. Political unity, covering the unity of civilization, reacts on it. A Hellenistic civilization, which is essentially assimilative and merges the barbarian civilizations in itself, supersedes Hellenic civilization; and in after years, in order that it may operate in its pure form and produce a renaissance, men will have to rediscover Hellenism properly so called.

By the "intelligence" in his straightforward exposition, the penetrating intelligence which, in studying the past, seizes on resemblances to modern life, apparently so different, while appreciating the profound differences, M. Jardé throws a vivid light on the swift, splendid development of Greece.

HENRI BERR.

¹ P. 4; cf. p. 77.

² A. Reinach, in *L'Hellénisation du monde antique*, p. 13.

THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

THERE is no one to whom the history of Greece does not appear as a necessary chapter of the history of mankind. The modern democracies—rightly or wrongly—see the Greeks as forerunners, and admire them as the people through whom the type of the citizen first appeared in the world, the people who at the very outset gave incomparable splendour to the ideas of freedom and country. With still more justice must we own ourselves indebted to the Greeks for the higher forms of our intellectual activity, science, art, and letters.

So none will contest the interest and usefulness which still attach to the study of Greek civilization in all its forms, social and political institutions, religious and economic life, scientific and philosophical activity, literature and art. But when one looks closely at history properly so called—I mean the succession of political, diplomatic, and military events—one feels a certain uneasiness, and one may ask whether Greek history matters to us to-day, and whether it should hold an important place in the history of the world. Within the state, we find intrigues as involved as they are petty, in which interests and vanities are at stake rather than ideas, and the personal rivalries of local magnates with no thought beyond the limited horizon of their tiny city. Between one state and another, we find endless wrangling over questions without interest or territory without value. Are the schemes and trickeries of Alcibiades and Nicias to get Hyperbolos ostracized any bigger or more important than the electoral intrigues in the bosom of some obscure

Town Council? In the quarrel which rages for five centuries between Priene and Samos over an oak wood, and a tract of brambly ground,¹ is one not tempted to recognize the burlesque heroics of the *Secchia Rapita*? We must not let ourselves be misled as to the relative importance of events by the quality of the historians who relate them. A philosopher like Thucydides can draw out of the most particular fact that general element which gives it a psychological value. In the revolutions of Coreyra—thoroughly unimportant for the history of the world—he shows all the play of human passions,² and thereby makes his work “a possession for ever.”³ But let a good man like Xenophon, an easy writer but an indifferent thinker, narrate events, and too often they appear flat and boring. The fall of Sparta is quite as dramatic, and had for the Greeks as great consequences, as the fall of Athens, and Epaminondas, “the first of the Greeks,”⁴ is more deserving of our attention than Alcibiades; yet it is the Peloponnesian War which, thanks to Thucydides, remains the centre of Greek history.

Whatever reservation it may be legitimate to make regarding the general and present interest of the history of the Greek cities, we cannot pass it over in silence. For without that history it is impossible, not only to solve, but even to set forth properly and discuss the problem, of universal import, which is presented by the Hellenic genius. A people of a few thousand men, which originally settled, in the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula, on a territory one-tenth the size of France, and could only maintain its prosperity and glory for three or four centuries, is one of those which, by their civilization, have had the most influence on the development of all mankind. That is the “Greek miracle.” But historical science allows no miracles. Without doubt the genius of a people is no less difficult to explain than the genius of a man. But, if it cannot furnish indisputable solutions, historical science should at least seek explanations and compare hypotheses. Where, or from whom, did the Greeks acquire the intellectual and moral qualities which make them superior to the other peoples of antiquity, their intelligence, wide-awake, astute, clear, and

¹ V, pp. vi ff.

³ Thuc., i. 22.

² Thuc., iii. 70–85.

⁴ Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 2. 4.

precise,¹ their sense of proportion,² their love of independence and their individualism, their lovable, smiling optimism? Why should this race, physically beautiful, healthy, and vigorous, have been a race of artists and thinkers?

Over such a typical case as this, easy to study because it is limited in time and space, theorists were bound to come to blows.³ For some,⁴ man is explained by his environment. It is to the Mediterranean climate that the Greek owes his abstemiousness and vigour, no less than his love of clear ideas; the country has endowed him with his intellectual qualities and his artistic tastes; nature is for him "a counsellor of grace, a mistress of uprightness and virtue."⁵ In the eyes of others, environment has no influence; in one same region peoples have succeeded one another without resembling one another. "Let no one talk to me," says Hegel, "of the sky of Greece, since it is Turks who now dwell where once the Greeks dwelled."⁶ The qualities of men are something primordial which lies in the race. There was a Greek race, endowed with its own character, and the purer the race remained, the more it preserved its qualities. Attica produced no great men from the day when the introduction of foreigners and freed-men into the city debased the race.⁷

Need one say that all absolute theories are false? Historical reality is infinitely more complex, and cannot be confined in simplifying formulæ. It is impossible to separate the Greeks from the country in which they lived; if the environment did not create the qualities of the Hellenes, it favoured and developed them. On the other hand, the notion of race is too obscure to supply clear explanations. From the earliest antiquity, there was never a physiologically pure race; there were mixtures of races and peoples. If one exactly defined Greek race existed, how do we explain the diversity of the Greek peoples? For, while there are features common to all, there are as many differences. Soft Ionians and energetic Spartans, subtle Athenians and thick-skulled Bœotians, are they all of one race, in which case we cannot

¹ Hdt., i. 60.

² Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 4. 6.

³ Brunhes, "Du Caractère propre et du caractère complexe des faits de géographie humaine," *Ann. de Géog.*, xxii (1913), pp. 1-40.

⁴ *XLVI*, ii, pp. 102, 104, 105.

⁵ Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 205.

⁶ Quoted by Brunhes, p. 2; cf. *XLII*, p. 67.

⁷ Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, pp. 340 ff.

assert its unity, or must we suppose as many races as peoples ? Environment and race are incomplete or insufficient explanations.

To explain the peoples, we have to call in history itself. The influences of environment and innate qualities are not to be neglected, but both combine variously according to the historical evolution of each group, and it is down time, in the sequence of events, that we must see the peoples forming and developing. Between Athens and Sparta the differences of environment and population were not so great but one might have inferred, *a priori*, two similar peoples, two identical civilizations. Yet there was nothing of the kind ; Athens and Sparta, no doubt similar at the beginning, grew more and more different in the course of their history. The acceptance of a determinism which makes the whole of historical development a necessary catenation of causes and effects renders the explanation, not easy and simple, but difficult and complicated. It was the joint action of country, men, and events—among which some were purely fortuitous—which made each Greek people what it was. For, with similar environments and kindred populations, Greece had a great variety of states and peoples. If we are to come to closer grips with the problem, it is not the Greek genius that we must explain, but the particular genius of each people.

Here a new question arises. Various as the Greeks were, they had enough common features to recognize themselves from the beginning as members of one same family. And yet Greece, so long as she was independent, never succeeded in achieving her unity, in fusing into one big state the many little states into which she was divided. What was the cause of this incapacity ? Again we have the same conflicting answers ; either political division is explained by geographical division, or individualism is regarded as an innate, irreducible element of the Greek character. Again, too, we have to call in historical data ; history shows us the two tendencies at war, attempts at national union and egoistic resistance by the cities ; history tells us how circumstances made the unity of Greece, in spite of the Greeks, by the Macedonian conquest.

More than the history of the various cities, it is the Macedonian conquest, unifying Greece and Hellenizing the

Eastern world, which affects universal history. The small Greek States, shut up in their self-centred policy, were incapable of exerting a deep and lasting influence outside themselves. Asiatic Greece, whose centres of trade saw populations mingling in a cosmopolitan mob of seamen and traders, was able to awaken to civilization not only Greece Proper, but all the barbarian peoples, from far Tartessos to mysterious Cholcis. There was an Ionian Mediterranean, traces of which survived in the later civilizations.¹ But the Persian conquest arrested the development of Ionia, so that Ionian influence was of very short duration. After Ionia, Athens, by the radiation of her genius even more than by her political prestige, thought to impose her civilization on the whole of Greece. But the direct action of Athens was even more limited than that of Ionia both in space and in time; it lasted only because Attic civilization was one of the elements of Hellenistic civilization, as the Attic dialect was the first foundation of the *κοινή*.

In reality the true Greece, the Greece of the Vth and IVth centuries, only acted on humanity very late. The Renaissance, which took once more to the study of the Greek writers, only knew the Greek temple from Vitruvius and Greek sculpture from Roman copies. The French Revolution fancied that it was imitating the Roman Republic and borrowed its vocabulary. Not until the arrival of the marbles of Ægina in Munich in 1812, and of the sculptures of the Parthenon in London in 1816, was Greek art revealed, and only the modern democracies have been able to seek, if not examples, at any rate distant precedents in the Athens of Pericles. Most often, and for the longest time, Hellenism has acted through the intermediacy of the Romans, themselves won over to Greek culture. Now the Greece which the Romans knew, imitated, and introduced to the peoples who did not know her, was the Greece of Alexander's successors, Hellenistic Greece, that is, a Greece in which the Greek "peoples" had been blended into one Greek "people," and individual differences had finally disappeared in the bosom of a common civilization.

It is on the formation of this common civilization, of this Greek people—one cannot say Greek nation, for unity of

¹ L, ii, pp. 584 ff.

civilization was not accompanied by a true national feeling—that the historian's effort should bear when he thinks of the "History of Civilization." After seeing how, under many and various influences, the Greek states and peoples were formed, we must enquire how the Greek world, tossed about by foreign and civil wars, eventually attained, if not political unity, at least moral unity. So we should justify the apparently paradoxical plan of our work, which only closes the study of the formation of the Greek people on the day when the history of Greece herself is over.

PART ONE

THE COUNTRY

CHAPTER I

THE LAND

1. THE FORMATION OF THE SOIL

WHETHER we approach the coasts of the Ionian Sea or those of the Ægean, or go down from the north by land, following, through valleys and gorges, from Macedonia to the Isthmus of Corinth, the road of all the invasions, always and everywhere Greece appears as a mountainous country. The mountains occupy nearly 80 % of the Greek mainland and still more of the isles.

The complexity of the relief records geological vicissitudes.¹ The Greek world is simply the remnants of an old continent, the Ægeid of the geologists. The oldest part is formed of crystalline masses, like that of which fragments remain in Thrace and Macedonia, and that which occupied the region of the Cyclades. On these hard cores Hercynian folds were formed in Primary times, and Pyrenæan folds at the beginning of Tertiary times. The Ægeid was on one of the lines of least resistance of the globe, in the zone of the Inland Seas ; so it was broken up by a succession of dislocations and breaks, mountain masses gave place to marine troughs, and the lines of mountains were cut through by collapsed basins. Finally, a general subsidence of the Ægean continent transformed old valleys into gulfs and old chains into peninsulas and islands.

The division of the Ægeid into fragments is comparatively recent.² Had the ancients any suspicion of it when they told of Deucalion's Flood, or when they placed the opening of the Vale of Tempe in mythical times ?³ The volcanic activity

¹ Maps in **LII** and **LIII**.

² **LV**, p. 1089.

³ Strabo, ix. 5. 2.

which they constantly witnessed was sufficient to prove to them the instability of the land of Greece. In the middle of the IIIrd century, on the coast of the Saronic Gulf, an eruption, accompanied by lights and mephitic vapours, raised a mountain over 3000 feet high; the sea grew hot, and a hot spring spouted, giving off almost pure carbonic acid.¹ In 197, in the middle of the ruined crater of which the islands of Thera and Therasia form the rim, the islet of Hieria appeared in four days.² The exhalations which intoxicated the Delphic Pythia, the flame which burned on the Mosychlon of Lemnos, and the hot sulphur springs—those of Thermopylæ, those of Ædipsos, where Sylla took the waters,³ and those of the Anigris Nymphs in Triphylia, which were said to cure skin diseases and leprosy⁴—were all manifestations of volcanic activity.

Just as to-day, the soil of Greece was constantly subject to earthquakes, and observations were sufficiently numerous to supply Demetrios of Callatis with material for a special work.⁵ In 464 a shock was felt in Laconia and on Taygetos; the citizens of Sparta would have been buried under their houses as they tried to save their furniture, if King Archidamos had not had the presence of mind to call them to him by making the trumpeters sound the alarm. The number of victims was so great—20,000, it was said—that the Helots believed that the Spartiate race was destroyed, and took advantage of the disaster to revolt.⁶ In 373 Helice and Bura, cities of Achæa, were destroyed by an earthquake accompanied by a tidal wave,⁷ as the cities of Locris had been in 426.⁸ In 225 the turn of Rhodes came; the Colossus was overthrown, the walls and arsenals were destroyed; from all parts of the Greek world cities and sovereigns sent food, building materials, workmen, and money to repair the disaster and relieve the victims.⁹ How many accidents happened unrecorded, or are only known by a brief men-

¹ Strabo, i. 3. 18; Paus. ii. 34. 1.

² Strabo, i. 3. 16; Plut., *Mor.*, 399c; Sen., *Q. N.*, ii. 26; Pliny, *H. N.*, ii. 202; iv. 70; LVII.

³ Strabo, ix. 4. 2; x. 1. 9; Arist., *Meteor.*, ii. 366A.

⁴ Strabo, viii. 3. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 3. 20.

⁶ Thuc., i. 101; Paus., i. 29. 8; Diod., xi. 63. 1-7; Plut., *Cim.*, 16.

⁷ Strabo, i. 3. 10; viii. 7. 2. 5; Paus., vii. 24. 6; 24. 12; 25. 4; 25. 8; Diod., xv. 48.

⁸ Thuc., iii. 89; Strabo, i. 3. 20; Diod., xii. 59. 2.

⁹ Strabo, xiv. 2. 5; Polyb., v. 88-90.

tion?¹ Certain regions, such as Bœotia, Locris, Eubœa, Ætolia, and Laconia, were always having earthquakes. There is hardly a year in the Peloponnesian War in which Thucydides does not mention movements of the ground.²

Volcanic phenomena appeared to the Greeks as the expression of mysterious and divine forces. They were signs foreboding great events. Delos shook at the beginning of the Persian Wars³ and of the Peloponnesian War.⁴ Land and sea were convulsed on the eve of Salamis.⁵ Among the facts which seem to him to prove the importance of the period which he describes, Thucydides is careful to mention the many violent earthquakes.⁶ The shocks were attributed to the action of Poseidon. He is the god who "with his lever violently lifts the land and the salt sea";⁷ it was he who opened the Vale of Tempe,⁸ raised the Sporades from the waves,⁹ and, in the war against the Giants, broke off from Cos the rock which became the island of Nisyros.¹⁰ It was for having violated the sanctuary of Poseidon on Cape Tænaron that Sparta was destroyed in 464,¹¹ and the ruin of Helice in 373 was likewise a punishment inflicted by the god.¹² It was in honour of Poseidon Asphalios that the Spartans sounded the pæan during an earthquake,¹³ and it was to him that the Rhodians dedicated a sanctuary on the islet of Hieria which had just risen from the sea.¹⁴ The worship of Poseidon was localized in districts which were subject to frequent shocks, the Malia, Saronic, and Corinthian Gulfs, Phocis, and Bœotia, and Strabo is not surprised to find him honoured in continental districts—at Apameia in Phrygia, for example—which were often shaken by earthquakes.¹⁵

The fragmentation of folded chains of complicated structure and the subsidence of the continent resulted in a great wealth of contour, and therefore in a great variety of forms and aspects. Let us go to that quarter of Delphi where the Amphictionic Assembly was held, and let us stand at the

¹ Hdt., v. 85; Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 7. 4; Paus., ii. 7. 1.

² Thuc., iii. 87; iv. 52; v. 45, 50; viii. 6, 41. ³ Hdt., vi. 98.

⁴ Thuc., ii. 8.

⁵ Hdt., viii. 64.

⁶ Thuc., i. 23.

⁷ Ar., *Clouds*, 568. Cf. *Il.*, xi. 751; xiii. 43; *Od.*, i. 74; Soph., *Trach.*, 502; Pind., *Isth.*, i. 76; *Pyth.*, vi. 50.

⁸ Hdt., vii. 129.

⁹ Callim., *Del.*, 30–35.

¹⁰ Strabo, x. 5. 16; Apollod., i. 6. 2.

¹¹ Thuc., i. 128; Paus., iv. 24. 6; vii. 25. 3. ¹² Strabo, viii. 7. 2.

¹³ Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 7. 4.

¹⁴ Strabo, i. 3. 16.

¹⁵ Strabo, xii. 8. 18.

point where Æschines showed the delegates the Amphissæans tilling the Sacred Plain.¹ Before us lie the plain, planted all over with olives, and, beyond it, the sea, by which the pilgrims used to come, a gulf running far inland, but narrow enough for us to see the Peloponnesian hills outlined against the sky. On the left are the bare summits of Cirphis, where flocks of sheep and goats live on the sparse vegetation, while at the bottom the Pleistos runs, a slender thread of water, in the middle of a broad bed of stones. Behind is the shining wall of the Phædriad Rocks, divided by the cleft through which the waters of Castalia spring, and dismantled by the shocks which still pour on to the ruins of Marmaria such rains of rock as once, they say, sent Persians and Gauls flying. And with the Phædriades we guess, if we cannot see, "the inviolable peaks of Parnassos,"² with their Alpine pastures and their forests. So, in a small area—there are not twelve miles, as the crow flies, from the Gulf of Cirrha to the summit of the mountain—all the elements of Greek landscape are found side by side, sea and mountain, olive-grove and forest, brush and Alpine pasture, dry torrent-bed and "silver springs,"³ crevasse and rubbish, and we are quite prepared to find in this little canton, if not the *ὀμφαλός*, the "navel" of the inhabited world, at least a microcosm in which all the complexity of the Greek world is reflected.

Varied aspects and sudden contrasts, these are what make Greek landscape so picturesque and beautiful, and these, too, are the cause of the great variety of forms of cultivation, of resources, of ways of life. There is no Greek state whose economic life can be summed up in one word; in the same city sailors, husbandmen, and herdsmen lived side by side. Greek civilization was the result of this infinite variety of human groups in an infinite variety of geographical settings.

2. THE MOUNTAINS OF GREECE

Greece, though a mountain land, is not a land of high mountains. Even by piling Pelion on Ossa, the Titans did not get much higher than 11,500 feet. The highest summits are outside the true Greek country—those of Olympos (9,741 ft.), or of Pindos, viz., Tymphrestos (7,606 ft.) and

¹ Æschin., *Ctes.*, 118.

² Eur., *Ion*, 86.

³ Eur., *Ion*, 95.

Corax (8,240 ft.). In central Greece the highest point, Parnassos, does indeed reach 8,066 feet, but Helicon is only 5,009 feet, and the mountains of Attica are between 3,000 and 5,000 feet. In the Peloponnese Taygetos alone exceeds 7,900 feet, Cyllene and Erymanthos are little over 6,500 feet, and Mænalos, Lycæos, and Parnon are not as much. With their moderate height, and the fairly dry sky, the Greek mountains have neither eternal snows nor glaciers; none of them could be a reservoir giving birth to great rivers. They never attain the grand majesty of the Alpine masses.

To-day the rock shows everywhere on the mountains, but in antiquity they were not nearly so bare. The ranges of the Peloponnese, in particular, were covered with woods of oaks or conifers, full of boar and deer. In addition to the forests, the mountains contained pastures, frequented in summer by the flocks and herds which came up from the plains. They never presented the wild aspect and desolate loneliness of high places. When, in the *Bacchæ*, Euripides describes Cithæron, he chiefly shows us green, turfy valleys, bathed in running waters, shaded by oak and pine, a smiling, pleasant nature, which does not seem at all a suitable setting for the tragic frenzies of the Mænads.¹

Being of such moderate height, the Greek mountains were no barrier to travel. Between one valley and another there were cols by which the hill-cantons could communicate. The site of Delphi, for instance, marks the centre of a system of roads. In one direction there was the road which crossed central Greece from north to south. It started from Lamia, crossed the plain of the Spercheios, and then went up the Asopos and through the gorge of the Trachinian Rocks between Callidromos and Cete; it reached the upper valley of the Bœotian Cephissos, and there divided; one road—that which Philip took to Elateia—ran to Phocis and Bœotia, and the other went round the west of Parnassos, and, by a pass 3,000 feet high, descended on to Amphissa and the Plain of Crissa. The other road at Delphi was that which ran to Bœotia. Ascending the gorge of the Pleistos, it crossed, at an altitude of 850 feet, the ridge separating the Pleistos from the Platanias, and came to the famous cross-roads where Laios was slain, the *σχίστη ὁδός*, whence three roads

¹ Eur., *Bacch.*, 36, 677-8, 1048, 1051-2, 1084.

diverged, that which the Athenian Pythais¹ followed via Daulis and Chæroneia, that which reached Thebes direct by Lebadeia, and that which, by Ambryssos, rejoined the Gulf of Corinth at Anticyra. In the Peloponnese, too, there were many roads, from Argos to Mantinea, from Tegea to Sparta by Sellasia, and from Sparta to Megalopolis by the upper valley of the Eurotas.

We certainly must not exaggerate the value of these ways of communication. Greece never knew the fine post roads which alone make the unification of a great empire possible, such as the royal roads of Asia or the Roman Ways.² Certain distances were measured,³ but no one took the trouble to mark them along the roads themselves. The herms which the Peisistratids set up along the country roads of Attica cannot be compared to milestones. Few roads were made practicable and built up. The carriage road from Athens to Eleusis,⁴ paved in places with big uneven cobbles, and partly cut in the rock, with its works of art, the marble bridge over the Cephissos, the footbridge on the Rheiti Ponds, and the artificial ruts to facilitate chariot-driving, was an exception, explained by the importance of the processions, and, moreover, was not sixteen miles in length. Most of the roads were mere paths, climbing the hillsides without zigzags, and taking steep gradients by steps cut in the rock.⁵ But these tracks and paths were sufficient for a busy pedestrian traffic, and were generally passable for mules and horses. There were countless travellers, ambassadors and *theoroi*, pilgrims bound for the great sanctuaries, and merchants leading little caravans of pack-animals. In spite of the convenience of sea travel, men preferred to avoid certain long or difficult passages, and the land-roads gave the shortest cuts by the isthmuses. From the Gulf of Corinth to the Gulf of Argos, the road ran through Cleonæ and Mycenæ; from Eubœa, the convoys of corn for Athens took the overland route rather than sail round Cape Sunion. So these much-frequented roads had to be watched; the Athenian State built forts on all the ways into Attica, Eleutheræ on the road from Bœotia, Phyle and Panacton on the direct road from Thebes by Drymos, and Deceleia on the road from Oropos.

¹ Strabo, ix. 3. 12.

² Strabo, v. 3. 8.

³ Hdt., 11. 7.

⁴ **CXVII**, pp. 123 ff.

⁵ Paus., viii. 6. 4.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND POLITICAL FRONTIERS

So, even by land, the Greeks could communicate with one another without too much difficulty. But the mountain chains were enough to form the boundaries of geographically distinct regions. There is nothing more typical, for example, than the country of Phocis and Bœotia, which is composed of a string of fallen-in basins, separated by ridges of less height than the neighbouring mountains, and united by eroded valleys, the basins of Lilæa, Elateia, Chæroneia, Lake Copais, Thebes, and Tanagra.

The orthodox practice is to compare this geographical division into compartments with the political divisions of Greece, and to explain the latter by the former. Nature, it is said, drew the limits within which each state should be formed, and, what is more, this geographical necessity was so strict that the Greeks never succeeded in escaping from it and passing to a higher stage of organization.

That this remark contains a portion of truth, none will deny. It is well known that the absence of clearly marked frontiers is an impediment to the formation of a nationality, and that, on the other hand, definite boundaries help a nation to be definitely aware of itself. But we must not overdo geographical determinism. In the classical period a Greek state almost always consists of several countrysides which have been brought together either by an agreement culminating in a synœcism, as in Attica, or by conquest, as when Messenia was annexed to the Spartan state. The State thus formed only partly fits the geographical frame. We find it overlapping what seem to be its natural frontiers. The Athenians try to expand beyond Parnes,¹ either disputing the shut-in plain of Drymos with the Bœotians,² or endeavouring to seize the territory of Oropos, which Philip eventually handed over to them; the Spartans seek to rob the Argives of the Thyreatis, along the coast beyond Parnon.³ On the other hand, certain plains, which would seem to be the natural territory of one state, never arrived at unity; Bœotia and Arcadia always remained divided into cantons,

¹ Plato, *Critias*, 110D-E.

² Dem., *De Fals. Leg.*, 446; Milchhoefer, *Kart. v. Attika*, p. 15.

³ Hdt., i. 82.

and the barriers which isolated these cantons one from another were far less obstructive than those which separated the different plains of Attica.

The notion of the frontier varies with the forms of life. The modern idea of a frontier, as a conventional line at which the sovereignty of the state ceases, was unknown to Greek antiquity. The customs line did not exist; goods might be taxed on entering or leaving ports, and they might pay road-tolls¹ or market-dues, but they were not stopped by customs posts dotted along the borders of the territory. The line of military defence, as always, had nothing to do with the frontier of the state; the forts which guarded Attica held strategic positions behind the frontier. The very notion of territorial sovereignty was unknown; the city ruled only the citizens, and where the land of the citizens ended (and only the citizens could be land-owners), there the territory of the State ended likewise. The landmarks which separated the citizen's field from that of the foreigner were at the same time frontier-posts of the state.² War began, not with a violation of frontier, but with an act of brigandage, the theft of cattle or the pillage of harvests.

In these circumstances, frontiers could only be fixed gradually. At the beginning the city was a place easy of defence, an acropolis round which the land cultivated by the citizens extended. Beyond the cultivated fields, the private property of the families, lay the waste, the tracts which, through the nature of the soil or of the vegetation, remained unoccupied and open to all, mountainous districts, swamps, and forests. These districts, which were not suitable for individual ownership, and were regarded as being "at the end of the world," *ἐσχατιαί*, served as pasture-land where every man could take his beasts. On these border-lands the citizens of different states met. Every year Cithæron was invaded by the flocks and herds which had spent the winter in the pens of Corinthia or Bœotia, and would stay six months in the hills; it was here that the shepherd of Laios, King of Thebes, met the shepherd of Polybos, King of Corinth, and handed the little Œdipus to him. But all encounters were not so friendly as this. Between herdsmen quarrels arose for the possession of the best grazings. On the slopes of

¹ II, ix. 2, No. 521, ll. 17-18.

² Plato, *Laws*, 842E.

Parnassos, Phocians and Locrians disputed the pastures; the people which thought itself injured by the encroachments of its neighbour revenged itself by carrying off cattle, and, though sometimes the matter could be settled by agreement or arbitration, often cattle-reiving led to war.¹

To avoid these conflicts, the wisest thing to do was to abolish the lack of division and to define exactly the part of each, that is to say, the territory of each city. So the frontier was fixed. No doubt conflicts still went on, for when one city felt itself the stronger it did not hesitate to poach on its neighbours. "How far," somebody asked, "do the frontiers of Laconia extend?" "As far as my spear carries," replied Agesilaos.² But the principle was to settle the apportionment of contested territories and to entrust their delimitation to a commission of arbiters, sent by a third city. The two parties agreed to respect the decisions of this commission, and we find many inscriptions, all through Greek history, regarding these arbitrations and delimitations.³ The work was completed by the erection of frontier stones; Pausanias saw steles, engraved in archaic characters, which marked the frontier between Psophis and Thelpusa.⁴

Were the frontiers thus defined natural or artificial? Like our modern frontiers, they combine both elements. Although as a rule rivers were only a customs boundary or a strategic frontier, they often served as a line of demarcation. Just as, in Asia Minor, the Halys separated the Medes and the Lydians, so the Acheloos separated the Ætolians and the Acarnanians,⁵ and the Asopos the Platæans and the Thebans. Sometimes certain details on a watercourse were taken as points, for example, a source,⁶ or a confluence. A division might be still more easily marked by a mountain, which was an obstacle.⁷ In the delimitation of the contested territory between Epidauros and Corinth⁸ the only points indicated were summits, as if the frontier followed a watershed, and expressions like "*ᾗ ὁ ὄρος πέει εἰς*. . .", which are frequent in the delimitation treaties of the cities of Crete,⁹

¹ **XII**, xxv (1912), p. 147.

² Plut., *Mor.*, 210E.

³ E.g. **XI**, xxv (1901), p. 337; **XXVIII** (1908), p. 212; **II**, iv, 926; v, 1430-1.

⁴ Paus., viii. 25. 1.

⁵ **XXVIII**, 1905, pp. 56 ff.

⁶ Paus., viii. 26. 8; cf. **XI**, xxv (1901), pp. 344-5.

⁷ E.g. Strabo, ix. 1. 11; ix. 3. 15; Paus., viii. 22. 1.

⁸ **II**, iv, 926.

⁹ **IX**, 5016, l. 11; 5077, ll. 51, 61, 63; **XI**, xxxiv (1910), p. 331.

seem to bring us to the notion, so familiar in modern frontiers, of the line between two river-basins. Besides these geographical points, there were purely conventional points, a sanctuary,¹ a wayside altar,² statues.³ Where there was only cultivated land⁴ or a wooded valley,⁵ with nothing to catch the eye, posts were erected at intervals to mark the line. If we take the boundaries of the cities of Phthiotis⁶ as an example, we find every kind of line and point, natural and artificial, watercourses and mountains, sanctuaries and frontier posts, and no type prevails over the others.

So the Greek cities were not mere geographical units. Nature no doubt roughly marked where the peoples were to settle, but man stepped in and defined their bounds by purely conventional lines. What is true, is that the Greek states always remained small in extent. Whatever the reasons for this fact may have been—and we shall often have to return to it, for it is the most salient feature of the whole history of the Greek world—the smallness of the states stamped its mark on the Greek spirit. What strikes one as a novelty, a novelty which makes the Greek commonwealth different from the Oriental empire, is the love of the citizen for his city, patriotism. Now this feeling was, if not engendered, at least developed by the small size of the state. His national territory was not for the Greek, as for the modern man, an abstraction, only to be visualized by means of maps. It was a concrete, living reality; the citizen knew every view and every corner of it; often he could, from the top of the acropolis, embrace in one survey the whole city, to the frontiers marked by the mountain ring on the horizon.⁷ All the sentiments which bind us to the place of our birth, memories of childhood, familiar visions, were felt by the Greek for his whole city; when he fought for her he was literally fighting for home. Within those narrow borders all parts were so close that there could be no question of provincialism or centralization. There was no difference, still less opposition, between “parochial” and “national.”

¹ Paus., viii. 34. 6.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 11. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 35. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 54. 7.

⁵ *XI*, xxv (1901), pp. 338–9.

⁶ *XI*, xxv (1901), pp. 338–9.

⁷ In the presence of the Greek cities one thinks of the disdainfully ironical description which Saint-Simon gives (Boislisle's ed., iii, p. 23) of the Principality of Monaco: “The sovereignty of a rock, from the middle of which one can, so to speak, spit beyond its narrow limits.”

CHAPTER II

THE WATER

1. THE CLIMATE

“**E**VERY state and, indeed, every human establishment is the amalgam of a little humanity, a little ground, and a little water.”¹ Water, that vital necessity, is a result of climate. Long ago Hippocrates noted for the first time the influence of climate on the character of peoples. However much this theory may have been abused, it is none the less true that climate is one of the factors which, directly or indirectly, are a condition of human life. The Greek would not have been the Greek without the climate which Greece enjoys.²

Can we judge the climate of the past by that of to-day ?³ When the ancients declared that the climate had become harder⁴ they were arguing less from meteorological observations than from a vague belief in a mythical Golden Age. Fortunately we have other means of information. It has been claimed, not without reason, that deforestation helped to aggravate the dryness of Greek lands. But deforestation has only a local effect. Climate is the result of much more general factors, in particular of barometric pressure. The ancients had the notion of the weight of the air, but they made no precise observations regarding it, and do not seem to have drawn any meteorological conclusions from it.⁵ We may, it is true, neglect this omission ; pressure may be regarded as one of the permanent elements of climate, since it depends on invariable conditions—the position of a place with regard to the Equator, the distribution of land and sea. It is also connected with temperature ; now, in this respect

¹ Brunhes, *Géographie humaine*, p. 76.

² Cf. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Garnier's ed., v, p. 115) ; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 203.

⁴ Theophr., *Winds*, ii. 13.

³ **XXXI**, pp. 123 ff.

⁵ **LXI**, i, p. 17.

we can assert that there has been no change since antiquity. The observations made on the date-palm enable us to speak with very great exactitude. For almost imperceptible differences of mean temperature are sufficient to modify the development of the fruit profoundly. Between 17° and 18° centigrade, date-palms bear fruit, but it does not ripen; between 18° and 19°, the dates are almost ripe, but uneatable; between 20° and 21°, they ripen, but are still inferior to those of the hotter countries. Now Theophrastos tells us that in Greece the date-palm bore fruit, but it did not ripen,¹ and that in Cyprus the dates were eatable without being quite ripe.² This is still the case, and we may conclude that from antiquity to our own time the mean temperature has not varied one degree.³ Lastly, the permanence of barometrie conditions is confirmed by the study of the winds, which are the same to-day as in the past. So, in spite of certain local variations, the climate has not changed, and present data may be used to supplement the indications of the ancients.

Greece belongs to what is called the Warm Temperate Zone.⁴ The summer is hot but not parching, and the winter is mild. The mean temperature for the year oscillates between 16° in Thessaly, where the climate is rather continental, and 19° in the Cyclades, where it is rather marine. Athens and Sparta have the same average of 17.7°.⁵ The ancients, who had no means of measuring the temperature, calculated it from the impressions of their senses;⁶ their data, vague as they are, agree with ours. Hard winters, in which the north wind drives the snow,⁷ late springs,⁸ and, still more, summer frosts⁹ are noted as exceptional. The winter is generally mild, and broken in January by a succession of fine days, the ἀλκυνόμεναι ἡμέραι.¹⁰ Summer comes early. Autumn is long and sunny.¹¹ For the ancients the characteristic feature of the Greek climate is the equable

¹ Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, iii. 3. 5.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 6. 7.

³ **LXI**, i, pp. 82-5.

⁴ For the climate of the Balkan Peninsula, see T. Fischer, *Die südeurop. Halbinsel*, pp. 136 ff.

⁵ **LIX**, *passim*.

⁶ Arist., *Meteor.*, i. 341A.

⁷ Eur., *Cycl.*, 329; Schol. on Ar., *Ach.*, 220; Alciph., iii. 40. 1; ii. 27. 1.

⁸ Thuc., iv. 6.

⁹ Plut., *Dem.*, 12; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 123, n. 2.

¹⁰ Dio Chrys., vi. 2; Arist., *H. A.*, v. 8; Ar., *Birds*, 1594; Ael., *N. A.*, i. 36.

¹¹ Xen., *Vect.*, i. 2; Philostr., *V. Ap.*, iv. 17; Aul. Gel., *N. A.*, i. 2. 2.

temperature, *εὐκρασία τῶν ὥρων*.¹ Greece, says Herodotos, has for its portion by far the most temperate seasons.²

More important than the temperature, in the eyes of the Greeks, were the precipitations of the atmosphere. "The Clouds alone are goddesses"; says Aristophanes, "all the rest are trash."³ And indeed the rains are all the more desired because they are neither frequent nor copious. The western area gets more rain than the eastern;⁴ while Corfu gets 53 inches, Sparta has only 30 in., Delphi 23 in., Athens 16 in., and Thera 12 in.⁵ The impression of dryness is accentuated by the fact that this small amount of water falls in a few days of rain, 98 in the year at Athens.⁶ The difference between the seasons is very marked. Winter is the rainy season; at Athens the winter rainfall is 78% of the total.⁷ Summer is the dry season. Frequently July and August do not give a drop of water. On an average, there are fifty consecutive days without rain, and, in a year of exceptional drought, as many as 119 days have been known, from the end of May to the end of September.⁸ The very rare summer rains are storms, generally accompanied by hail, which bring down torrents of water in short, violent showers;⁹ two hours of storm once gave 24½ inches of water,¹⁰ and the rain-storms of summer may be no less disastrous than the snow-storms of winter.¹¹ The rain is so heavy that, even if in an exceptional case it lasts,¹² the water pours off without soaking into the soil and moistening it.¹³ Drought is a dreaded calamity, and we know the ardent prayers of the Athenians to Zeus, that he may rain "on the fields and the plains."¹⁴

One consequence of this dryness is the clearness of the atmosphere. At daybreak one may often see the morning mists rolling along the ground, but as soon as the sun is up they melt away, and the air becomes absolutely pure. At Athens there are 180 clear days, and 80 without any cloud

¹ Plato, *Tim.*, 24c; *Epin.*, 987D; Eur., *Erechth.*, fr. 1, ll. 15-16.

² Hdt., iii. 106.

³ Ar., *Clouds*, 365. Cf. Hdt., ii. 13; Theophr., *C. P.*, ii. 1. 3.

⁴ *LX*, pp. 426 ff.

⁵ *LIX*, *passim*.

⁶ *LIX*, p. 71.

⁷ *LIX*, p. 71.

⁸ *LIX*, p. 72.

⁹ Hdt., viii. 12; Alciph., ii. 3. 1; Thuc., vii. 79.

¹⁰ *LIX*, p. 73.

¹¹ Pind., fr. 107.

¹² Alciph., ii. 10. 2.

¹³ Plato, *Critias*, 111D.

¹⁴ M. Ant., v. 7; Paus., i. 24. 3; Alciph., ii. 33. 1.

at all.¹ This remarkable quality of the air already struck the ancients. It was a commonplace to ascribe the acute perception and fine mind of the Athenians to the lightness of the atmosphere and the luminosity of the sky of Attica.² In the chorus of the *Medeia* which celebrates the virtues of Athens, Euripides shows us the Athenians "nourished on the most famous wisdom and walking with delight in the most limpid air."³ In that transparent, luminous atmosphere even the most distant objects stand out with perfect sharpness; the outline of the hills is as hard as the lines of architecture. The eye, and through the eye the mind, grow accustomed to the utmost precision. There is nothing misty or smudged or vague, as in the lands of the North. The poetry of haze and mystery, wraiths fading into the cloud, Germanic romance and Scandinavian symbolism, all that is unknown to the Hellenes. There is no more fog in Greek thought than in Greek landscape.

2. STREAMS, ABOVE GROUND AND BELOW

The heat and dryness of the Greek climate determine the nature of the running waters.

The watercourses of Greece are scanty streams of which very few deserve the name of rivers. The Thessalian Peneios and the Acheloos, which have a fair volume, are exceptions. Most of them are like the Eurotas, trailing a slender thread of water in the midst of sand-banks and oleanders. For the Greeks a big river was a prodigy. When Herodotos recounts the wonders of Scythia, he regards the rivers, the vast plain, and a miraculous footprint of Heracles as all equally marvellous.⁴

The streams are very irregular in their habits. Writers never fail to mention that a watercourse is perennial,⁵ for many, like the Cephissos and Ilissos in Attica,⁶ are merely torrents. In summer they are quite dry;⁷ but if there is a storm whole rivers come down from the hills in a furious spate of muddy water, carrying away bridges and laying

¹ *LIX*, p. 93.

² Dio Chr., vi. 87; Aristid., *Panath.*, 97, 5; Phot., p. 241 (Bekker's ed.); Cic., *Fat.*, iv. 7.

⁴ Hdt., iv. 82.

⁶ Strabo, ix. 1. 24.

³ Eur., *Med.*, 825-30.

⁵ Hdt., i. 145.

⁷ *Il.*, xiii. 138.

the countrysides waste.¹ The Peneios was then, as it is to-day, subject to dangerous floods,² and even the Ilissos had to be held in by a retaining wall.³

The Greek streams cannot by their nature render service to man. They are not navigable; the Acheloos is mentioned as an exception because it could be ascended as far as Stratos,⁴ and it was a remarkable thing when a river bore ships 10 stades—less than 1½ miles—from its mouth.⁵ Far from being moving roads, the Greek watercourses are obstacles to movement. In flood-time they are impassable; in 432 the Thebans were held up on their expedition against Plataea by a rise of the Asopos,⁶ and in 369 they were stopped in their march on Sparta by floods on the Eurotas.⁷ Being torrents, they have dug deep, narrow gorges, in the bottom of which they run; these ravines are in themselves serious obstacles. In 426 Demosthenes' Athenians had enormous difficulty in making their way over the gorges of Ætolia;⁸ so, too, at the battle of Delion in 424, the movements of the two armies were hampered by the ravines.⁹ But they are also working rivers, and carry down mud of all kinds;¹⁰ the silt of the Eurotas has filled up the head of the Gulf of Laconia, and that of the Acheloos has joined the Echinades Islands to the mainland.¹¹ The water of the streams is too muddy to be drinkable. So the watercourses of Greece are useless for drinking or navigation. There was no reason for building a city on their banks.

The complexity of the mountain chains and depressions, which have divided the country into more or less closed basins, and the shortage of rain, which has not allowed the formation of large watercourses, explain why the river system is incomplete. In districts which do not communicate directly with the sea the water reaches the lowest point and spreads out in lakes and swamps. The highlands of Arcadia, for example, form one isolated whole, in which seven basins can be distinguished.¹² The waters of Phocis and Bœotia

¹ *Il.*, xi. 492–5; v. 87–91; Alciph., ii. 12. 2.

² Strabo, ix. 5. 2. ³ *CX*, p. 189.

⁴ Thuc., iii. 7; Strabo, x. 2. 2.

⁵ Paus., iv. 34. 1.

⁶ Thuc., ii. 5.

⁷ Plut., *Ages.*, 32.

⁸ Thuc., iii. 98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 96.

¹⁰ Alciph., ii. 10. 2.

¹¹ *Hdt.*, ii. 10; Thuc., ii. 102; Strabo, i. 3. 18; x. 2. 20.

¹² *LXIII*, p. 11.

collect in a depression in which Lake Copais used to occupy an area of about 100 square miles.¹

The place of the incomplete surface streams is taken by underground streams. In the fissured limestone there are chasms into which the water disappears, sometimes caves large enough for beasts to seek shelter and coolness inside, sometimes mere cracks in the ground and sieves which absorb water.² These are the *katavothraï*s of modern Greece. The ancients already remarked the way in which rivers disappeared;³ the rivers of Hades belonged to this class of watercourse, and the idea of underground streams was so natural that the most unlikely legends were believed, such as that of the Alpheios flowing all the way to Syracuse and mingling its waters with those of the fountain Arethusa.⁴ The water, after wandering about far under the earth, finally issues at the foot of mountains in abundant, regular, clear springs.⁵ The ancients, who were not ignorant of this fact, held that the springs of the Ladon were the outflow of Lake Pheneos,⁶ and that those of the Erasinos came from the Stymphalian Mere.⁷

The movement of the underground waters is uncertain. The water disappears into the *katavothraï*s; if the rain is plentiful it is not carried away fast enough. The *katavothraï*s of Copais⁸ are insufficient in winter; so the water begins to rise after the first rains of autumn, and reaches its highest level in February or March.⁹ More serious are the irregular, unforeseen variations. If a seismic shock alters the subterranean passages, if the stones or sand carried down by the water narrow the passage, or if only the entrance is blocked by rubbish, trees, plants, or bodies of animals, at once the water, finding no outlet, covers the lower parts of the basin until the obstacle suddenly gives, and then the inundated ground is very soon dry again. Hence there are incessant variations in level, and the dwellers on the banks are continually in danger. The history or legend of cities swallowed up by the waters is a familiar theme to the ancient

¹ XCIV, pp. 88-90.

² Arist., *Meteor.*, 350B-351A.

³ Map of the underground streams in Arcadia in LXII.

⁴ Strabo, viii. 8. 4.

⁵ LXIII, pp. 1-9; XCV, p. 135.

⁶ LXIII, p. 17.

⁷ Strabo, vi. 2. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii. 6. 8.

⁹ XCIV, p. 44.

geographers; both about Lake Copais¹ and about Lake Pheneos² stories were told of vanished cities. In classical times the Stympthalian Mere washed the city which, at the beginning of the Christian era, was five stades away from it. The plain was drained by works undertaken on Hadrian's orders; the River Stympthalos, which fell direct into the *katavothra*, only overflowed in winter, and even then formed only a small swamp. But the least obstruction of the outlet could cause the old lake to reappear; Pausanias saw a lake of 400 stades form in this way, and it disappeared as soon as the *katavothra* was cleared.³ The work done on Lake Copais by Crates⁴ was no doubt intended to ensure a regular out-flow of the water no less than the draining of the plain.

The question of the carrying away of water raised a problem. In civil law, water created servitudes; no one could turn away from his land the water which came down from the land above.⁵ The same servitudes might exist for cities. The best-known example is that of Mantinea and Tegea.⁶ The plain of Mantinea was below that of Tegea, and the water flowed from the one into the other. If the Tegeates held it back, there was drought in the Mantineian country; if, on the other hand, they wanted to rid themselves of their surplus water, it did not need much work to flood the territory of Mantinea, and the Mantineians would have great difficulty in protecting themselves, even if they dug a drain across the plain. The water was a constant pretext for conflict and war between the two cities.⁷ It might also be used as an arm of war. To flood your enemy's land was a practice which was dated back to mythical times; Heracles had flooded Orchomenos by closing the outlets of Lake Copais.⁸ This was the device which Agis revived against Mantinea in 418,⁹ and Iphicrates thought of trying it against Stympthalos in 369.¹⁰

It is hard to say whether the presence of swamps had any effect on public health. The story of Heracles killing the Stympthalian Birds was interpreted as symbolic of drainage

¹ Strabo, i. 3. 18; Paus., ix. 24. 2.

² Paus., viii. 14. 1.

³ Hdt., vi. 76; Strabo, viii. 8. 4; Paus., viii. 22. 3.

⁴ Strabo, ix. 2. 18; **XCIV**.

⁵ Plato, *Laws*, 844c; Dem., *Callicl.*, 18-19.

⁶ **CI**, pp. 39 ff.

⁷ Thuc., v. 65.

⁸ Paus., ix. 38. 7.

⁹ Thuc., v. 57, 65.

¹⁰ Strabo, viii. 8. 4.

operations which had done away with the miasmas emanating from the marshes. Yet malaria, if not unknown to the Greeks of the past, does not seem to have made the same ravages among them as among the Greeks of to-day. It is probable that the extension of cultivation and hydraulic works prevented malaria from developing. As on the shores of Italy, the evil is due to the falling back of civilization, to land left waste and drainage works abandoned.

Springs were of great importance. They alone gave drinking-water, and the Greeks, who were great water-drinkers, appreciated the qualities of each like connoisseurs.¹ They were all the more esteemed that they were rare. This scarcity of springs was an encouragement to city life. In the better-watered mountain districts the population could disperse itself more in small villages. Cities generally begin with the presence of a spring,² and the spring is surrounded with the most venerable legends. At Mycenæ there is the spring of Perseia,³ on Acrocorinth the fountain of Peirene, which sprang beneath the hoof of Pegasus,⁴ at Thebes the spring of Ares, where Cadmos killed the dragon.⁵ For a city to become great, she must be well supplied with springs. In Athens the first settlement, on the Acropolis, used the waters of the Clepsydra, which, though varying in quantity, was perennial.⁶ Towards the south-east a pool, large enough for legend to place the last waters of the Flood there, fed the spring Callirhoe and supplied the water needed for the first quarter built at the foot of the fortress, which, with its ancient sanctuaries, was to remain the aristocratic city.⁷ On the west a new quarter rose, which also had its springs; the water which drips at the foot of the Pnyx hill was collected in a basin cut in the rock, with that of the neighbouring hills.⁸ But at a very early date the requirements of water exceeded the supply of the springs. Peisistratos built the first aqueduct, which led water from the upper valley of the Ilissos, two and a half miles from the town, into a great reservoir.⁹ Much more was done to bring in water and to

¹ "In Greece and in the Levant I have found absolute hydromaniacs." Bartholdy, *Voyage en Grèce*, i, p. 169.

² Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 10. 2.

³ Paus., ii. 16. 6.

⁴ Strabo, viii. 6. 21.

⁵ Paus., ix. 10. 5.

⁶ Ar., *Lys.*, 913 and Schol.; Hesych., s.v. κλεψιδρυτον ὕδωρ.

⁷ Thuc., ii. 15.

⁸ XVII, xvi (1892), p. 440; xix (1894), p. 504.

⁹ CX, p. 186.

build fountains in the VIth century; the aqueduct of Theagenes at Megara¹ and that of Polycrates on Samos² are examples.

Living waters, the springs which give refreshment and shade to the traveller, imbue the cool places which they create with a divine character. The Nymphs of the waters are honoured everywhere. The Muses, before they come to inspire the poets, are water goddesses who take delight in the valley of Helicon with the countless springs. The springs of Lethe and Mnemosyne contributed to the success of the oracle of Trophonios,³ and Delphi owed it to Cassotis and Castalia, no less than to the chasms of the earth, that men recognized it for a dwelling of the gods.

3. VEGETATION

On climate depends that vegetable world which is "intermediate between the two principal cycles of geographical phenomena, those of the inanimate world and those of the living."⁴

Like the climate and with the climate, vegetation varies according to district and altitude.⁵ Eastern Greece has a different flora from western Greece,⁶ and, in Attica alone, we can distinguish between the seaboard, the plain, the hills, and the fir country.⁷ As a whole, the vegetation of Greece is that of the Mediterranean countries.⁸ It is determined by the fact that the period of vegetation is very long, the humidity low, and the light intense. The plants adapt themselves to the dryness; the herbaceous species have bulbs or tubers; the trees keep their green and very shiny leaves all the year round.

The prevailing formation is the forest, but it is a forest of rather an open, shrubby kind. In 1884 the forests of Greece covered a surface of 2,000,000 acres, i.e. between 12% and 13% of the total area.⁹ The proportion was considerably greater in central Greece than in the Peloponnese. But

¹ Paus., i. 40. 1; **XVII**, xxv (1890), pp. 23-33.

² Hdt., iii. 60; Arist., *Pol.*, v. 1313B; **XVII**, ix (1884), pp. 165-91.

³ Paus., ix. 39. 8.

⁴ Vidal Lablache, "La Géog. polit.," *Ann. de Géog.*, vii, p. 102.

⁵ **LXIV**, p. 37. ⁶ **XCIII**, p. 401.

⁷ **CVI**, *passim*.

⁸ Grisebach, *Die Vegetation der Erde*, i, pp. 231 ff.; **XXXI**, pp. 147-55

⁹ **LXVI**, pp. 39-40.

things are not now as they were. Deforestation, which began in ancient times, has laid many districts bare. Thus, the road from Mantinea to Tegea ran through an oak-wood, the Pelagos, of which not a trace remains.¹ In the earliest times the mountains were wooded all over, and the mountains have kept their adornment of trees the longest—Pelion, Cete, Parnassos, Cithæron, Helicon.

There are many species. Theophrastos mentions almost every tree which we know in Europe. The look of the country varies with the trees. In the valleys, along the streams, there are tall poplars; Heracles, it was said, had brought the white poplar from the land of the Thesprotians, and it was the only wood which could be used at Olympia for the sacrifices.² The tree which seems inseparable from Greek landscape, the tree, above all others, of the valley and the running waters, is the plane.³ The man who carved the Hellenistic reliefs⁴ loved to dwell on its structure, the mighty foliage of broad, lobed leaves, the spiny fruits, and the gnarled trunk, often so hollowed out by the years that the traveller can get inside and sleep.⁵ The development of its foliage made it the favourite tree for public alleys; Cimon planted it on the Agora of Athens, and the ground where the young Spartiates exercised was shaded with planes, like the Lyceum and Academy in Athens.⁶ It was the tree hallowed by tradition; at Delphi you were shown that which Agamemnon had planted,⁷ in Arcadia, that in whose shadow Menelaos reviewed his troops;⁸ still better, Gortyn boasted the one which had sheltered the loves of Zeus and Europè.⁹ More illustrious, in our eyes, is that which overheard the conversations of Socrates and Phædros, that fine tree, broad and tall, with thick grass beneath inviting the passer-by to stretch himself out, and a clear spring cooling the air, and an agnus castus giving off its sweet scent.¹⁰

In the mountains the oak is king. Many places take their

¹ Paus., viii. 11. 1; **CI**, p. 65.

² Paus., v. 13. 3; 14. 2.

³ *Il.*, ii. 307. Rivers called from the plane: Paus., viii. 39. 1; ix. 24. 5.

⁴ **LXV**, pl. i, xlv; **XI**, xxviii (1904), pl. vii.

⁵ Paus., vii. 22. 1.

⁶ Plut., *Cim.*, 12; Paus., iii. 14. 8; Pliny, *H. N.*, xii. 9.

⁷ Theophr., *H. P.*, iv. 13. 2.

⁸ Paus., viii. 23. 4.

⁹ Theophr., *H. P.*, i. 9. 5.

¹⁰ Plato, *Phædr.*, 230B-C.

name from it.¹ Cithæron, Helicon, Parnassos, the Arcadian hills, and those of Epeiros are covered with it. The ancients were not agreed on the number of species or on the names which they should be given.² One of the most noteworthy is the oak with sweet acorns, the *φηγός*, on which the primitive Arcadians lived; its fruit appears on the coins of Mantinea.³ With the oaks, the conifers prevail, yew, cypress, silver fir in the highlands, and pine almost everywhere—*πίτυς*, the stone pine of Italy (*Pinus Pinea*), and *πεύκη*, which is supposed to embrace three species, the maritime pine (*Pinus Maritima*), the Aleppo pine (*Pinus Halepensis*), and the Laricio pine (*Pinus Laricio*).⁴

There is nothing wild or mysterious about the Greek forest. It has neither the passionate exuberance of the virgin jungle nor the impressive silence of tall trees. It is enlivened by the whir of insects and the singing of birds. It is incessantly animated by the presence of man, herdsmen pasturing their beasts in the shade of the big trees, and charcoal-burners who come to cut maple and ilex.⁵ The forest of Cithæron, where the Bacchantes sport,⁶ a forest of oaks, firs, and pines, carpeted with ivy and smilax, never inspired the uncanny horror which the legions of Germanicus felt when they entered the Hercynian Forest.⁷

There is not enough humidity for the forests to be extensive or thick. They are full of glades, and, man adding his ravages to the defects of nature, the country is becoming denuded and the woods are giving place to bushy coppice and *maquis* or brush. These are composed of many species, belonging to the most various families, but having certain similarities of structure, agreeing especially in having shiny, leathery, evergreen leaves. Here and there, isolated or in little clumps, rise trees, such as the evergreen (ilex) oak and the cork-oak. Underneath is a dense mass of shrubs, myrtles, arbutuses, laurels, lentisks, arborescent heaths, and wild olives. It was from the wild olive that Heracles got the wood for his club,⁸ and from its foliage the crown of the

¹ Hdt., viii. 33; ix. 39; Thuc., iii. 24; viii. 31; Strabo, x. 1. 4; Paus., x. 3. 2.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, iii. 8. 2.

³ Theophr., *H. P.*, iii. 9. 1; ix. 2. 5.

⁴ Eur., *Bacch.*, 684-5, 702-3, 1052.

⁵ Paus., ii. 31. 10.

⁶ Paus., viii. 1. 6; *GI*, p. 55.

⁷ Ar., *Ach.*, 181, 666.

⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 61.

victors in the Olympic Games was wreathed.¹ Elsewhere we find chiefly thorny undershrubs, like the buckthorn to which the Attic deme of Rhamnus owes its name. Lastly, like the forest, the brush is broken up by glades blazing with flowers, both bulb plants—asphodels, narcissi, hyacinths, crocuses—and scented labiates—mint and thyme of various species. These are the flowers which are plundered by the bees, and give the honey of Hymettos its flavour.

The brush held a big place in Greek life. Even more than the forest, it was the domain of the herdsman. While the kine found shady woods and grassy valleys in the mountains, the sheep and goats, being content with little, delighted in the bushes of the *maquis*; there they browsed on the cytissus which was believed to give the ewes more milk.² The brush was also a hunting-ground. The forests were the domain of big game. The wild beasts which used to infest the country in heroic times, and demanded “councils of the gods and the strength of heroes,”³ had almost disappeared; the lion, leopard, and panther were no more found, except in Macedon and Thrace,⁴ and there but seldom; the bear alone continued to haunt all the mountains. In the forest, the boar and stag were chiefly hunted; the abundance of big game was for a mighty hunter like Xenophon the principal attraction of his estate at Scillus.⁵ The brush was rather the domain of small game, the kind which appeared on every table—the hare, which was so much hunted in Attica that in the Vth century it had become scarce, but was so prolific in the islands that it was a public danger and made it necessary to organize big drives,⁶ the partridge, which was caught in nets with decoy-birds,⁷ and all the little birds, thrushes, quails, and larks, menaced by the numerous traps of the fowler.

It was in the plains, small though they were, that human activity centred, because there alone the soil was fertile. Grass-land was rare; only a little was found in the bottom of the dampest valleys. In the horse-breeding countries, like Thessaly and Argolis, the horses were let loose in the

¹ Paus., v. 15. 3; 7. 7; viii. 48. 2.

² Arist., *Hist. An.*, iii. 522B; Pliny, *H. N.*, xiii. 130.

³ A. Reinach, *XXIX*, s.v. *Venatio*.

⁴ Hdt., vii. 125; Xen., *Cyn.*, xi. 1; Paus., vi. 55.

⁵ Xen., *Anab.*, v. 3; Paus., v. 6. 6.

⁶ Ath., ix. 400D.

⁷ Xen., *Mem.*, ii. 1. 4.

fields after the harvest and fed on stubble more than grass. The raising of cattle was hardly possible except in the mountain pastures. The plains were chiefly taken up by ploughland ; when left to itself, this land bears the same plants as the glades of the brush. In spring, on waste land and in gardens, a gorgeous wealth of flowers appears ; the ground is hidden under a thick carpet of violets and narcissi, and against the blue sky the flowering trees cast brilliant splashes of colour, the red of pomegranates and the snow of almonds. It is a lovely but fleeting moment. Suddenly the summer arrives and burns up everything ; the air trembles and shimmers over the baking earth ; the dust powders the trees and makes the pale leaves of the olives whiter still ; life would seem extinct, were it not for the song of the cicadas. The region of the plains has been the most transformed by human toil, it is the region where cultivation has left the least room to the natural flora ; this is the kingdom of corn, vine, and olive, the creation of man more than the gift of nature.

Like the soil and like the climate, the vegetation of Greece is marked by its diversity ; within a small space there is a great variety of species and formations, such as will furnish man, if he knows how to make use of them, with resources sufficient for all the wants of life.

CHAPTER III

THE SEA

1. THE COASTS AND ISLANDS

WHEN the vanguard of the Ten Thousand climbed Mount Theches, the first-comers, catching sight of the sea far off, began to shout. Xenophon, thinking they were attacked, hurried up with the cavalry, while the cries were redoubled. "Presently we heard the soldiers shouting 'The sea! The sea!' and cheering one another up. Then everyone ran up, rear-guard, baggage-train, cavalry. When they reached the top of the mountain all, generals, officers, and men, embraced each other and wept."¹ For these Greeks, lost in the continent of Asia, a sight of the sea was a sight of home.

For what makes Greece is the close union of sea and mainland. If we look at the whole Greek world we are struck by the great extent of sea compared with land. The geological construction of the mainland has caused land and sea to run one into the other. No point of the Ægean Sea is more than forty miles from the mainland, and no point in Greece is more than sixty miles from the sea. Arcadia was regarded as the typical mainland country;² yet a convoy leaving Mantinea took only one day's marching to reach the Gulf of Argos, one and a half to reach the Gulf of Laconia, and two or three to reach the shores of Messenia, Elis, or Achæa.³

So the true centre of Greece is the Ægean Sea, and it is by their deeply indented coasts that we recognize the true Greek countries. As one goes northwards, tectonic dislocations, and consequently indentations of the coast, are less marked. But at the same time one is going towards regions which are less and less Greek. Thessaly, in spite of the Gulf of Volo, and Macedon, in spite of the Gulf of Salonica, are

¹ Xen., *Anab.*, iv. 7. 21.

² Paus., viii. 1. 3; Pliny, *H. N.*, iv. 20.

³ *CL*, p. 69.

only half Greek ; compact Epeiros—" the Mainland," *ἡπειρος*—is not Greek at all.

The indentations of the coast-line are chiefly due to fractures and local subsidences. The Atalante Channel belongs to the same zone of breaks as the Spercheios valley ; the sea-arm south of the Euripos is a submerged valley continuing the basin of Tanagra. Since geological times the modifications of the coast have not been considerable. The theory of a general movement of subsidence of the mainland¹ seems to be contradicted by the facts, and we may take it for certain that the level of the Mediterranean has been the same all through the historical period.² The changes noted are due to purely local phenomena, either volcanic activity, as on the peninsula of Methana, or silting, like that of the Acheloos, which has united the Echinades Islands to the coast and filled up the harbour of Œniadæ, and that of the Spercheios, which has transformed the head of the Maliac Gulf and the Pass of Thermopylæ.

The form of the coast is not everywhere the same. If Greece looks eastwards, it is partly because of the coast-line. On the west the coasts do not present the same wealth of indentations and shelters. The coast of the Peloponnese consists of a series of arcs, so slightly curved as to be almost straight. No big port could be established there. We must go southwards to find, behind the islet of Sphacteria, a fine roadstead capable of holding a large fleet. On the east, on the other hand, there are many complex gulfs and peninsulas, and deep coves offer shelter everywhere. It was here, chiefly round the Saronic Gulf, that all the ports and all the great trading centres of classical Greece were grouped.

It is on this side, too, that the sea is studded with the greatest number of islands. The western islands, the shreds of folds parallel to those of the mainland, seem in a way attached to the land. They are an appendage of the neighbouring countries rather than a transition between these and the outside world ; Odysseus has estates both on the mainland and on Ithaca.³ The islands of the Ægean, on the other hand, are like the piers of a bridge between Europe and Asia. The sea is divided into great basins of some depth, between which are plateaus like that which bears the

¹ LXVIII, LXIX.

² LXX.

³ *Od.*, xiv. 96-108.

Cyclades, or ridges like that which, by Cythera, Crete, Carpathos, and Rhodes, prolongs the ranges of the Peloponnese right across to Asia. Nowhere, perhaps, is the mutual interpenetration of land and sea more complete than in this Ægean basin; nowhere have communications been easier.

A still further aid to intercourse is the quality of the atmosphere. The air, in which there is not a trail of mist, is so transparent that objects can be seen at a very great distance in all their detail, and therefore seem quite near. When one arrives from the open sea, that is, from the west, the Greek lands are visible from a long way off. On a fine day the mountains can be seen over fifty nautical miles from the coast; the highest summit on Cephallenia is visible at eighty miles.¹ In the middle of the Cyclades, therefore, you are never out of sight of land. Islands, islets, rocks, headlands, and mountains are so many sea-marks to guide the mariner; gulfs, roadsteads, and creeks are so many shelters to receive him.

2. CURRENTS AND WINDS

Not all the seas which the Greeks knew were equally to their liking. The Black Sea, with its lowering sky and its inhospitable shores, without an island on it, seemed an outlandish region. They tried to conciliate the elements by calling them by names of good omen; but they still felt, as they came out of the Bosphorus into the "Hospitable Sea," *πόντος ἑύξεινος*, the same fears as beset the Argonauts and for a time deterred the bold mariners of Miletos. On the west there was nothing unusual about the climate and the sky, but there, too, the sea was the open sea, on which one rather hesitated to venture forth. One felt that, once he had passed Cape Malea, he must lose all hope of coming back,² and the Adriatic was held to be so dangerous that a Mantineian got great credit because he, landsman that he was, had twice crossed a sea which the coast folk hesitated to traverse even once.³

The Greek sea above all others is, beyond dispute, the Ægean Sea, the Archipelago. It is not a stormy sea. Like all the Mediterranean, it is tideless. Except on the shores

¹ LXVII, p. 36.

² Strabo, viii. 6. 20.

³ XI, xx (1896), p. 119; cf. Lys., fr. 1.

of Crete, where tides of between four and eight inches are observed, or in the strait of the Euripos, where the tide coming in from both ends creates the famous current, the cause of which, according to the tale, baffled the perspicacity of Aristotle, the sea-level is more affected by the wind than by the tide.¹ Nor are there any strong currents. The only one which has any important effect is that of the Bosphorus.² In the Ægean the currents, which are irregular in direction and strength, generally flow southwards.³ In the southern part of the archipelago a current flows westwards to Cape Malea and then up the west coast towards the Adriatic.⁴ This current, continued by that which follows southern Italy and washes the east coast of Sicily, is the natural route to Great Greece and Sicily.⁵

However, the ancients do not seem to have troubled themselves much about currents. For them, the winds were the sailor's best help, and it was the winds that the Greek meteorologists observed and tried to explain.⁶ In Greek waters the wind system is favourable to navigation. Not that the Ægean never knows foul weather. The bad season lasts from the beginning of November to the end of February.⁷ One of the winter months was consecrated to Poseidon—the Ποιτρόπιος of the Ionian cities, the Ποσειδέων of Delphi—because then the wrath of the god was most to be dreaded. This is the time when sudden winds, sometimes very violent, raise storms.⁸ They are usually northerly winds,⁹ but sometimes southerly,¹⁰ especially before the spring equinox.

But as soon as the fine days arrive one can think of putting to sea. It is in April and May, a modern proverb says, that the sailors' wives are made widows.¹¹ Since the days of Hesiod the boldest have embarked in spring.¹² The prevailing winds are then southerly; they are the λευκόνοτοι, which the ancients regarded as regular, periodic winds.¹³

With the summer, steady winds set in, the famous Etesians, ἑτησίαι.¹⁴ They blow from the north or the north-east,¹⁵

¹ LXVII, pp. 24–5.

² Arist., *Meteor.*, ii. 354A; LXVII, pp. 9–11.

³ LXVII, p. 4.

⁴ LXVII, p. 3.

⁵ CXXX, p. 328.

⁶ LXI, i, p. 111.

⁷ Thuc., vi. 21.

⁸ LXVII, p. 15.

⁹ Alciph., i. 1. 1.

¹⁰ CXXX, pp. 335–6.

¹¹ Mommsen, *Neugriech. Bauernregel*, p. 49.

¹² Hes., *W. & D.*, 663 ff.

¹³ Arist., *Meteor.*, ii. 362A; Theophr., *Winds*, ii. 11.

¹⁴ LXI, i, p. 123; LXXII, pp. 9 ff.; LVIII, pp. 570 ff.; XXX, s.v. *Etesien*.

¹⁵ The deviation westward is noted by Aristotle, *Meteor.*, ii. 365A.

falling a little towards evening and freshening in the morning. The sky is clear overhead, but the horizon is hazy; the mountain-tops are wrapped in dark grey mists, which announce that the wind will hold for several days.¹ The summer winds proclaim their arrival at the end of May. First come the "Forerunners," *πρόδρομοι*, which last a week; then the Etesians start to blow, and go on without interruption till September. They were of the very greatest service. Not only did their regularity make regular voyages to and fro possible, but they were credited with beneficial hygienic effects; it was because the Etesians did not blow in 430, people said, that the plague had been able to spread in Athens.² Can we be surprised that Poseidonios called them a gift of the gods?³

The autumn equinox is often marked by storms. It is the moment when it is best to return. At the beginning of September the convoy from the Euxine held itself in readiness to pass the straits.⁴ The sailor was advised to come home in time to drink the new wine.⁵

The coast winds were as important to sailors as the winds on the high seas. Long before Aristotle and Theophrastos noted the phenomenon,⁶ sailors had observed the alternation of land and sea breezes. The land breeze rises about eleven o'clock at night, and the sea breeze enters the gulfs about ten in the morning, dropping at sunset.⁷ Telemachos knows that he must wait for the night, to put out from Ithaca, and make the coast of the Peloponnese at dawn.⁸ The coast winds can be violent; it was local winds which scattered the Athenian fleet on the night of Arginusæ. The most dangerous are the squalls which descend suddenly from high ground and turn the sea white with foam. They are short, but very violent, and are dreaded by sailing-craft.⁹ The bandit Sciron, dashing travellers on to the beach from the rocks above, may well have been the personification of such a squall on the coast of Megara.¹⁰ As the Spartan army crossed the mountains between Creusis and the coast they lost many baggage-animals, blown into the sea by the wind,¹¹ which is particularly violent on these shores.¹²

¹ LXVII, p. 15.

² Diod., xii. 58.

³ Cic., *Nat. Deor.*, ii. 131.

⁴ Dem., *Pol.*, 1207-8.

⁵ Hes., *W. & D.*, 674.

⁶ LVIII, pp. 565 ff.

⁷ LXVII, p. 105.

⁸ LXXX, i, pp. 66 ff.

⁹ LXVIII, p. 17.

¹⁰ XXXIII, p. 382.

¹¹ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 4. 17.

¹² Paus., ix. 32. 1.

The sea of Greece is the blue sea, the calm sea, scarcely ruffled by a light, steady breeze, the sea on which graceful troops of Nereids ride, the sea where the dolphins play, the dolphins of the Cretan Apollo, patron of mariners, the dolphins who are the friends and protectors of man. It inspires the same feelings and awakes the same ideas as the mountains of Greece. The Archipelago is no more like the Atlantic than Hymettos is like Mont Blanc. There is no majesty of inaccessible peaks, no immensity of water. The impression of boundless solitude is never given by the Greek seas, which are contained within reasonable limits, and, as it were, humanized.

The sea, like the mountains, awoke no ideas of the infinite in the Greeks; the very notion is utterly foreign to Greek thought. Meditations before the infinitely great and the infinitely small, the metaphysical dizziness of the Pascal of the *Pensées*, would have been incomprehensible to a Greek philosopher. For him, the infinite is the indefinite, and the indefinite is what is formless and monstrous. Plato may believe in the survival of the soul, but refuses to attribute eternity to it, for he only sees perfection in a determined space and a finite time. The poetry of the infinite, like the poetry of mystery, finds no echo in the Greek soul.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK OF MAN

1. THE EXPLOITATION OF THE SUBSOIL

NATURE had endowed Greece with varied advantages and resources, but these resources, to be converted into wealth, demanded a continuous effort. Compared with the great regions where life was easy, Egypt or Mesopotamia, Greece was like a disinherited country. "Greece," says Herodotos, "always has poverty for a mate."¹ But the Hellenes were hard-working and active. "Their affairs never thrive better than when they are compelled to get everything from themselves and their industry."² Let us, then, see what man made of natural resources in Greece.

The subsoil furnished building-materials.³ The clay, of which there are many beds, served for making tiles for roofs and bricks for walls. The use of fired brick does not appear until the Roman epoch, but walls of sun-baked brick, reinforced with wooden beams, were common in primitive times, and are frequently found in classical times in private dwellings and military architecture. Fine ashlar masonry, with the stones properly dressed and fitting exactly, required no lime or plaster. In masonry which was not dressed, the rough blocks were bound by a simple mortar of earth and sand, and masked with stucco coatings of lime and marbledust.⁴ The stone was usually obtained on the spot. The houses of Athens are built of hard limestone, cut in small pieces, from the hills near the Acropolis; those of Delos are of undressed blocks roughly cut in the schists and granites of the island. Calcareous tufas, *πῶρος*, were in demand for a long time,⁵ on account of the ease with which they could be worked or their light weight, which caused them to be

¹ Hdt., vii. 102.

² **XCI**, p. 108.

³ **XXIX**, map of the mines and quarries, s.v. *Metalla*.

⁴ **XXIX**, s.v. *Tectorium*.

⁵ **XLVII**, vii, p. 319.

preferred for upper floors.¹ Even for big edifices the difficulty and expense of transport were avoided if possible, and the necessary blocks were taken from the nearest quarries. At Olympia the builders of the temple of Zeus were content with a shelly limestone which was so poor that its failings had to be hidden under a white stucco, because it was to be found at only an hour's distance from the building-site. At Athens the Kara quarries, which yielded a hard travertine which was very popular in the VIth century, are about four miles from the city, and those of Pentelicon, from which the marbles of the Parthenon and the Propylæa come, are ten miles away.

Of all materials the most beautiful and noble is marble. It is found at a great number of points, and the quarries were not all worked at the same time. The Greeks of classical times preferred white marble to the coloured marbles, veined or mottled, which began to be fashionable in the Hellenistic period. The most celebrated marbles were those of the islands, especially Naxian and Parian, which were brilliant, coarse-grained marbles, and, still more, those of Attica. The quarries of Pentelicon, which were chiefly worked from the Vth century onwards,² and are about thirty in number, have yielded about 14,000,000 cubic feet of the most wonderful material, a marble with a fine, close grain and of an extreme purity which makes it almost translucent and capable of taking on, in the air, a warm golden patina. The excellence of the Greek marbles contributed greatly to the development of art. In this compact, hard marble the architects were able to cut the big pieces which made trabeated construction possible; the sculptors, in the Cyclades or in Athens, revelled in a material which lent itself to all the delicacies of their craft, to minute detail and to softness of modelling alike.

In addition to building-materials, the subsoil furnished the Greeks with useful and precious metals. The copper ores, which were widely distributed and easy to work,³ fed the earliest metallurgical industry. Eubœa was the chief centre for the extraction of copper; Chalcis was the "city of bronze."⁴ Iron ores were also very widespread, but the

¹ **XI**, xxix (1905), pp. 45, 490; **xxx** (1906), pp. 488, 520.

² *Xen., Vect.*, i. 4; *Strabo*, ix. 2. 23.

³ **LXXIII**, i, p. 360.

⁴ *Strabo*, x. 1. 9; *Steph. Byz.*, s.v. *Χαλκίς*.

extraction of the metal was a difficult operation, which implied great technical progress.¹ They were found in Laconia, Bœotia, Eubœa, and most of the Cyclades; but none of the Greek veins gave ore of good quality.

Among the precious metals silver held the front place. In the VIIth and VIth centuries Thasos and Siphnos were the two most important centres of production; with the tithe of the revenues of the mines the Siphnians built their treasury at Delphi.² But these mines were supplanted by those of Laureion, whose great activity began towards the end of the VIth century; they attained their maximum yield after the discovery in 483 of the veins of Maroneia. The methods of exploration, which were at first purely empirical, gradually improved, with the reasoned observation of geological conditions, and the Athenian prospectors became so expert that their trial borings, methodically prepared, seldom led to disappointment. The metallurgical concerns grouped the pit-heads and the workshops for the treatment of the ore close together in a rational way, so as to save time and labour. The shafts went down to depths varying between 230 ft. and 390 ft., until they reached the geological fissures in which the ore was deposited. From that point a whole network of galleries ran, some of them very narrow, in which the miners, more often lying than squatting, carried on their hewing, and others wider, in which the ore-carriers went about, a whole underground city with streets, crossings, and squares. Near the pit-heads were the mortars and hand-mills in which the ore was crushed, the washing-rooms where the crushed elements were separated according to their density, and the furnaces for smelting and refining. The ancients extracted only lead and silver from the ore; and their processes were not sufficiently perfect to extract even the whole of the precious metal. The companies which resumed the exploitation in our own time were at first content to work over the ancient scoriæ, which were not completely exhausted. However, such as they were, the mines of Laureion were in the eyes of the ancients an invaluable treasure. Athens, which owned these "springs of silver,"³

¹ LXXIII, i, p. 359.

² Hdt., iii. 57-8; Paus., x. 11. 2; CVIII, p. 133.

³ Æsch., *Pers.*, 238.

was in great part indebted to them for her financial and economic supremacy.

Gold came from lands on the borders of the Greek world, Thasos, Macedonia, and Thrace, where the chief mines were those of Scape Hyle and Mount Pangæos.¹ Perhaps discovered and first worked by the Phœnicians,² the gold-mines soon attracted the Greeks, who came and established colonies on the northern shores of the Ægean. But gold continued to be a rare and rather exotic product. The currencies of all the Greek cities had only the silver standard; the gold coins were struck by foreign monarchs, the King of Persia or the King of Macedon.

2. THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOIL

The soil was on the whole less kindly than the subsoil. Greece, land of mountain and rock, afforded a very small surface of cultivable ground.

The best soil was formed by recent alluvia, the deposit of lakes and rivers. If we look at a geological map of central Greece,³ we see the plains clearly marked by the white patches which indicate alluvium—the plains of Eleusis, the Mesogæa, and Marathon in Attica, the plains of Bœotia, the valley of the Cephissos in Phocis, the valley of the Spercheios, and the district round the lake of Agrinion. The corn-lands of Thessaly and Arcadia are formed of similar soils, consisting of mud and clay, with a varying quantity of lime, of a colour ranging from light brown to black. Crops can also thrive on clayey schists, marls, and muddy Tertiary sands; in Messenia, for example, in sharp contrast to the chalky plateaus of the south-west, which bear poor fields of barley and a few rare olive-trees, the muddy sands of the plain are covered with vineyards and olive-groves; the former are almost deserted, the latter attract the whole population. The stony soils without humus are less favoured, but even they may be used for trees. In the plain of Argos, at the foot of the mountains, where the mud is mixed with stones, the corn gives place to the olive. The mountainous regions remain outside the cultivable area; they may, however,

¹ Hdt., vi. 46-7; vii. 112; Thuc., i. 100; iv. 105; Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 15; Strabo, xiv. 5. 28.

² Hdt., vi. 47.

³ *XCIII*, pl. vi.

have been a little more fertile in antiquity than to-day, for the forests were less sparse and must have helped to bind the soil.

The striking thing about the distribution of cultivated land in Greece is its sporadic character. There are no continuous tracts of it, as in central Europe. It is not quite the true desert type, but it is something like it, and the cultivated districts are practically oases. Very naturally, men collected in these little cultivable cantons. Political division owed even more to the division of cultivable land than to geographical barriers. The land which each state needed to keep itself alive was limited, and formed a little unit, isolated from the neighbouring unit. A second characteristic, equally remarkable, is that the cultivable land can only keep its value if occupied continuously and worked incessantly by man. In countries with a regular and plentiful supply of water the soil may be left untilled for years without deteriorating; in dry countries, on the other hand, it rapidly falls off. If historical circumstances interfere with human activity the fertility of the soil diminishes; if Greek lands seem drier and more barren now than in the past, it is due, not to variations in the climate, but to the periods of barbarism which they have seen since classical antiquity.

The Greeks had to remedy the shortcomings of their soil by incessant work. In a mountainous country the declivity is an obstacle to cultivation. One storm is enough to sweep down to the bottom of the valley the little vegetable mould which covered its slopes, and this mould must be gathered up again and carried on the backs of men to the place from which it fell. These landslips can be prevented by revetments. Cultivation on terraces, so characteristic of Mediterranean countries, was practised by the Greeks. On Delos many retaining walls, useless to-day, date back to the times when the estates of the god were in full bearing.¹

The Greek farmer was also able to give the earth the fertilizing ingredients which it lacked. The Greeks may, perhaps, have had a notion of chemical manures. Theophrastus mentions the use of nitre for growing cabbages.² But this is an exceptional case; they usually adhered to the

¹ *LVI*, p. 119, fig. 58; p. 204, fig. 107.

² Theophr., *C. P.*, ii. 5. 3; iii. 17. 8; vi. 10. 9.

simplest dressings suggested by daily experience. Compound manures were used, made of ditch mud¹ and rubbish of all kinds, including even leather waste.² Weeds were burned and dug in.³ Fields which had first been planted with leguminous plants were turned over.⁴ The commonest natural manure was stable dung. Its use goes back to the earliest antiquity, if we choose to see in the legend of Heracles cleansing the stables of Augeias a memory of the times when men did not know what to do with the dung, and got rid of it by throwing it into the river.⁵ The Greek agronomists study in detail the composition of dungs and the special value of each, the seasons at which manuring should be done, and the amounts required by this soil and that. The Amorgos lease carefully specifies the amount of dung which the lessee must lay down every year on the domains of Zeus Teme-nites.⁶

In the shut-in basins the Greek farmer had to fight the water. Not content with ensuring the evacuation of water by carefully clearing the outlets, the Greeks undertook great drainage operations. In the time of Alexander the engineer Crates drew up a whole programme of work (which was never carried out, as it happens) to reclaim for cultivation the ground covered by Lake Copais.⁷ An inscription from Eretria⁸ has preserved for us the agreement made by the city with a contractor for the drainage of a neighbouring marsh; the water is to be collected in ditches and led into a basin closed by a sluice, and the land drained is leased for ten years to the contractor. The water-channels which we find so often in estates are drains.⁹

The water thus captured could be used for irrigation. Inventories of estates and mortgage inscriptions never fail to mention the waters included in the land.¹⁰ Even in Homer the peasant leads water from a spring through his orchard

¹ II, ii, 1055, 1059.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, ii, 7. 4; vii. 5. 1; *C. P.*, iii. 17. 5; v. 15. 2.

³ Xen., *Œc.*, xvi. 12; xviii. 2; Plato, *Laws*, viii. 843E; Theophr., *C. P.*, iii. 20. 8.

⁴ Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 9. 1.

⁵ Roscher, *Trait. d'écon. polit. rur.*, pp. 83, 131.

⁶ II, xii. 7. 62, ll. 20-22.

⁷ Strabo, ix. 2. 18.

⁸ X, i, pp. 144 ff.

⁹ II, ii, 1060; X, i, p. 74, ll. 52, 56.

¹⁰ X, i, p. 66, §8, l. 19; II, ii, 1138.

and clears the irrigation ditches of anything which might block them.¹ The farmers of Eretria are allowed to retain the water in the basin in spring by closing the sluice, and to release it later to water their land.² The leases of the domains of Dionysos at Heracleia forbid the lessees to cut the ditches or to erect dams to turn the water on to their own properties.³ In his *Laws* Plato gives his *agronomoi* the duty of supervising the drainage and distribution of rain-water.⁴

Nevertheless, irrigation was never so important in Greece as in drier countries. The amount of the rainfall and the proximity of the mountains ensured to the plains, even to the driest, enough water to make it possible to do without a complete system of irrigation. The proof of it is that at Eretria, so far from all the water being used to irrigate the land, the contractor is obliged to run his drainage-ditches through land which is unfit for cultivation, and to be careful to avoid cultivable fields.⁵ So the practice of irrigation did not affect the development of Greece. The most ancient civilizations were born in arid or semi-arid regions;⁶ this was due in part to the exceptional, lasting fertility of the soil and to the difficulties presented by the clearing of forests, but also to the need for instituting hydraulic works to water the land, and for regulating their use. Irrigation presupposes compulsory co-operation of all the inhabitants, a social organization with laws and regulations laying down the rights and duties of each. Greece was still a savage country when civilization was developed in the lands of irrigation, Egypt and Chaldæa. The common use of a system of irrigation created necessary bonds between all who lived on a river. The Greek, on the other hand, in his corner of land, was sufficient to himself and had no need of his neighbour. Such agricultural conditions could only maintain and develop individualism, which was one of the most marked features of the Greek character, the one which seems to dominate the whole of Greek history.

¹ *Il.*, xxi. 257-62.

² *X.*, i, pp. 153-4; cf. *Xen., Anab.*, ii. 4. 13.

³ *X.*, i, p. 207, ll. 130-1.

⁴ Plato, *Laws*, vi. 761A-B; viii. 844E.

⁵ *X.*, i, p. 144, l. 21.

⁶ Hilgard, *North American Review*, clxxv (1902), pp. 309-15.

3. AGRICULTURE

In the eyes of the Greeks agriculture always remained the principal occupation and the principal source of income. "If you would grow rich," says Phocylides, "cultivate a fertile field with care; they say that a field is a Horn of Plenty."¹

The early economy of Greece, like that of many countries, was chiefly pastoral. Homer's kings own many herds of cattle and swine, which their slaves graze in the forests. The greater part of the country is wooded; the corn—spelt, barley, wheat—occupies only small tracts. But gradually crops extend as the forest is cleared. The forest supplies various needs. The trees give fuel; Phænippos' estate yielded as much wood as six donkeys could carry daily;² the Acharnians made their charcoal from the ilex and maple of the hills.³ The metal industry consumed much wood; Laureion was disforested sooner than the other mountains of Attica.⁴ The forests gave big timbers for heavy construction, of which the Doric temple has preserved the memory. Lastly, the Greeks went to the forest for something which they needed more and more, which they went far to seek, wood for building ships. Both to obtain wood and to extend cultivation the Greeks disforested the highlands; Plato speaks of the distant centuries when tall forests clothed the mountains of Attica, which in his time only gave enough to feed the bees.⁵ As the forest receded, stock-breeding became more difficult, and large cattle grew more scarce. Between the heroic age and classical times diet altered; Homer's heroes, the great meat-eaters, were succeeded by the abstemious vegetarians of the Vth century, who lived on bread and vegetables.

The expansion of corn was in its turn checked by the development of a richer form of cultivation, that of fruit-trees. It commenced very early; for Thucydides it is a feature of primitive and prehistoric times that trees are not planted.⁶ Already Laertes knows the profit that can be had from fruit-growing,⁷ and the orchards of Alcinoos inspire the

¹ Phocyl., fr. 7. ² Dem., *Phæn.*, 1041. ³ Ar., *Ach.*, 181, 666.

⁴ *CVIII*, p. 11; cf., in Cyprus, Strabo, xiv. 6. 5.

⁵ Plato, *Critias*, 111c.

⁶ Thuc., i. 2.

⁷ *Od.*, xxiv. 205 ff.

poet with admiration.¹ But fruit-growing expanded still more when, with the development of trade, farm produce became the object of international exchanges, and the introduction of money made it possible to convert the ever increasing surplus of the harvests into ringing coin. It then became profitable to replace corn by commodities which were in greater demand, and therefore more remunerative, like wine and oil. Solon and Peisistratos encouraged the planting of vines and olives in Attica, in order to feed the foreign trade of Athens with their produce. So the evolution of Greek rural economy was completed in the VIth century; henceforward it was in possession of its characteristic crops.

The food-plants of Greece, wheat, vine, and olive, were of different origins. The olive is found in a wild state in Greece; the wheat and the vine, which may have come from Mesopotamia and the Caucasus respectively, were introduced into the Mediterranean world so early that we may call them prehistoric plants. These three plants are just as different in their physical constitution. But they have certain physiological features in common, which explain their adaptation to warm temperate regions with a dry summer. All, wheat, vine, and olive—and one might add the fig and the other fruit-trees—can descend deep into the soil in search of moisture, and profit by hot, dry summers to develop the gluten in the seed and the sugar or aromatic matter in the fruit. The special character of Greek agriculture lies in this association of vegetable species, this combination of corn-fields and plantations.²

It would be interesting if we could determine the proportion in which the two elements were mingled. In Homeric times,³ as in historical times,⁴ when a rural domain is bestowed by the State as a reward, it comprises an equal amount of arable land and of vine and olive plantations. The property of the Athenian Phænippo, which is over 40 stades (5 miles) in circumference, yields 1,000 medimni (1,430 bushels) of corn and 800 metretæ (6,820 gallons) of wine; in addition, it comprises tracts of forest from which six donkeys

¹ *Od.*, vii. 112–22.

² Vidal Lablache, "Les Genres de vie" (*Ann. de Géog.*, xx, p. 294).

³ *Il.*, ix. 579–80.

⁴ *Dem.*, *Lept.*, 491; *Plut.*, *Arist.*, 27.

take firewood into town every day.¹ Assuming average returns for the corn and wine, we may reckon that the cultivated land represented about 25% of the total area, and that the corn-fields occupied about 89% of the cultivated land. We obtain similar figures at Heracleia from the domains of Dionysos, where the cultivated land is about 33% of the whole, and from those of Athene, where the corn-fields are about 89% of the cultivated land.² Of course the ratios varied with the country and the period. In low-lying districts, near the coast, fruit-growing predominated; in higher lands, between 1,300 and 5,000 feet of altitude, hardly anything but corn was grown. Furthermore, the cultivated area continually extended. No doubt historical circumstances might hinder work on the fields; at Abydos the land was left untilled on account of revolutions,³ and in Sicily, before Timoleon, the country was ruined by internal dissensions and wars between cities.⁴ But on the whole cultivated land gained on waste and forest. The lease of Gambreion stipulates that the lessee shall reclaim a piece of waste.⁵ A Cypriot law allows a man full ownership, free from all dues, of land which he clears of forest and reclaims.⁶ Many leases specify that the lessee shall plant vines or olives; moreover, it was a most profitable operation, if we may judge from a client of Isæos, who managed to double the value of his property in this way.

As in all countries where the economic system is not yet highly developed, the Greek farmer tried to have everything he needed on his estate. His fields, his vineyards and olive-groves, his sheep and cattle, and his woods must enable him to feed himself, clothe himself, build his house, and make his tools and utensils. This was the principle of *αὐτάρκεια*, under which each estate was self-sufficient, not asking the neighbouring estate for anything, nor giving it anything in exchange. But the chief purpose of agriculture was to supply daily bread; and so corn everywhere held the first place. It consisted almost entirely of wheat and barley.

The Greeks knew many varieties of wheat; but their classifications are based, not on botanical characteristics,

¹ Dem., *Phœn.*, 1040, 1045.

² Arist., *Ec.*, ii. 1348.

³ *X.*, i, p. 257.

⁴ *X.*, i, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ Diod., xvi. 83.

⁶ Strabo, xiv. 6. 5.

but on methods of cultivation or use, and the descriptions which the agronomists give of them are so vague that it is impossible for us to identify them now. The most widespread species was a winter wheat, a hard, bearded wheat, the straw solid or partially filled with pith. Wheat was the cereal necessary to human nourishment; by the use of bread civilized peoples were recognized.¹ But, although it was regarded as less nutritive,² barley occupied even more ground, not only because it also served for feeding animals, but chiefly because it was a hardy growth which lived on almost every soil and was not afraid of light, calcareous, or flinty land. In 329 Attica produced about 528,000 bushels of corn,³ of which about 77,000 were wheat, that is, nearly seven times as much barley as wheat; and, if we allow for the higher return of the former than of the latter, we have about six times as much land under barley as under wheat. The proportion varied with the district; in this same year, the barley-fields on Lemnos were four or five times as extensive as the wheat-fields; on Imbros the latter were almost double the former, whereas on Salamis only barley was sown.

One would like to know what the production of corn was, but with our few, uncertain data it is not possible to get precise figures. We must not take too seriously the groans of the peasants in the comedy, who complain that they harvest only half of what they have sown,⁴ but we must not believe, either, in the wonderful harvests with which distant, little-known countries were usually credited.⁵ We may take it that returns were middling, and on the poor side, and we are probably fairly near the truth in supposing a yield of from eleven to thirteen bushels the acre. This meant a very low production for Greece as a whole. If we reckon that the consumption was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of corn per head per year, that the arable land was hardly more than 25% or 30% of the total area, and that, moreover, with the prevailing two-year system, half of this land lay fallow every year, we shall conclude that the yield was below requirements as soon as the density of the population exceeded 100 or 150

¹ LXXVI, pp. 17-18. ² Arist., *Probl.*, xxi. 927.

³ II, ii. 834b; XI, vii (1883), p. 387; viii (1883), p. 194.

⁴ Menand., fr. 4; Philem., fr. 4, 6. Cf. Longus., iii. 30.

⁵ Hdt., i. 193; Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 7. 4; Strabo, xv. 3. 11; xvi. 1. 14.

inhabitants to the square mile. Certainly these figures were not always reached; it is probable that in the middle of the Vth century Laconia and Messenia contained rather less than 100 inhabitants to the square mile; and the mountainous districts, being less fertile and less cultivated, cannot have been as densely populated. But the minimum indicated was quickly passed as soon as there was an urban agglomeration. In Attica, in the Vth century, the lowest estimates give at least 230 inhabitants to the square mile,¹ and it is probable that we should accept figures of 500 or 600 to the square mile.²

Indeed, it is in Attica that Greek agriculture appears with its features most clearly marked. On the one hand, the growing of corn was insufficient to feed the population, which had to bring in corn from outside; on the other, the vineyards yielded plentiful and excellent produce, which was exported and fetched good prices. There came a tendency to extend the plantations, which gave higher returns, and to trust for corn to supplies from abroad. But this state of things had its dangers. The question of the food-supply was a constant anxiety in Athens. It was one of those which should occupy the attention of the statesman,³ and it appeared every month on the agenda of the first Assembly.⁴ A whole series of laws ensured the provisioning of the market and protected the consumer against "corners" and speculation. It was forbidden to every merchant domiciled in Attica to take corn elsewhere than to Athens,⁵ it was forbidden to lend money on bottomry unless the borrower undertook to bring back a cargo of corn or other useful commodities,⁶ it was forbidden to buy more than fifty measures of corn at once.⁷ The *Epimeletai* of the Emporium watched that two-thirds of the corn unloaded at the Peiræus should be sent to the city, and that only one-third should be re-exported;⁸ the *Sitophylakes* supervised prices, in order that corn might always be sold at the fairest rate, and that there should be a reasonable proportion between the price of corn and that of flour, and between that of flour and that of

¹ XLII, p. 100.

² CIX, pp. 273-293.

³ Xen., *Mem.*, iii. 6.

⁴ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 43. 4.

⁵ Dem., *Phorm.*, 918; *Lacrit.*, 941; Lycurg., 27.

⁶ Dem., *Lacrit.*, 941.

⁷ Lys., 22. 5.

⁸ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 51. 4.

bread.¹ Moreover, the foreign policy of Athens always had the corn-producing regions in view, Egypt, Sicily, and the Euxine. It was in order to get corn that she supported the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia after the second Persian War, and organized the Sicilian Expedition. In Russia she maintained friendly relations with the petty sovereigns of the Crimea, who granted Athenian merchants priority of loading and exemption from export duty. Above all, she strove to keep the corn-route open; the whole struggle between Athens and Philip gravitated about the possession of the Hellespont, that is, of the way by which the corn-convoys came, under the protection of the Athenian fleet, from the Black Sea to the Peiræus.

The question of the food-supply was particularly serious for Athens, but it existed in all Greek states. Greece, unable to feed herself, depended partly on foreign countries. This question, which the Greek historians only mention incidentally, was one of the governing motives of the foreign policy of the Greek cities.

4. THE EXPLOITATION OF THE SEA

It seems impossible to think of Greek life without marine activity. Yet the Hellenes were landmen at the beginning. The word for "sea" (*mar-*) possessed by the north-western group of the Indo-European languages is unknown in Greek. When the Hellenes wanted to speak of the sea, they invented descriptive words, and said "the salt element," *ἄλς*, or "the flat surface," *πέλαγος*, or "the road," *πόντος*.² But very soon the Hellenes began to make use of the sea. Not only did the country invite them to do so, but they met seafaring peoples, who were so familiar with the things of the sea that the proverbial expression, when one spoke of someone who pretended not to know something which he knew better than any, was: "The Cretan does not know the sea."³ To talk of the dangers of the deep and the perils of sailing seems to have been no more than a literary convention at an early date.⁴

The sea supplied the Greeks with important resources.

¹ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 51. 3.

² Strabo, x. 4. 17.

³ *XLV*, p. 16.

⁴ Alciph., i. 3. 1.

Not to mention the purple, which, following the Phœnicians, the Greeks fished especially on the coasts of Laconia,¹ or the sponges, which were sought on the shores of the Hellespont and of Lycia,² the sea supplied food. First, there was salt. The first Hellenes, being hunters and herdsmen, who lived on meat and milk, could do without salt more easily, and men talked of the time when the use of salt was unknown; that was why, they said, the gods were offered unsalted flour. But when corn became the staple diet, salt became a product of first necessity. It was collected on almost all coasts, and various qualities were distinguished; the salt of Attica and Eubœa was fairly mild and very soluble, and was preferred for the table; the salt of Megara³ was sharper, and was better suited for pickling.

The Greeks were very fond of salted food. Moreover, they knew no other way of preserving perishable food. They made salt preserves of vegetables and fruit, but above all they pickled fish in brine. Fishing was one of the great sources of food. In every Greek town the fish-market was one of the most frequented parts; it is there that Cleon's rival ponders his great schemes for cornering the pickle in which sardines are preserved,⁴ and the comic dramatists are never tired of the tricks of dealers who try to sell, as fresh, fish which was caught long ago.⁵ All kinds of fish are eaten, chiefly sardines, anchovies, and tunny, and also octopuses, calamaries, oysters, and all the *frutti di mare*. There was no point on the coast where fishermen were not to be found, but there were ports where the bulk of the population lived by this trade—Taras, for example, and, still more, the towns on the Propontis and the straits, Cyzicos and Byzantion.⁶ There deep-sea fisheries were organized, to catch the shoals which came down from the Black Sea by the Bosphorus. As soon as the "huers" had reported the arrival of the tunny, all the fishermen barred the passage with nets⁷ and hauled in the fish, which were killed with the gaff.⁸ All could not be consumed on the spot; a great part was put into brine. Byzantion was one of the centres for the manufacture of

¹ **XXIX**, s.v. *Purpura*; **LXXX**, i, pp. 415 ff.

² **XXIX**, s.v. *Spongia*.

⁴ *Ar., Knights*, 676–9.

⁶ *Arist., Pol.*, iv. 1291b.

⁸ **XXIX**, s.v. *Piscatio*, p. 491.

³ *Ar., Ach.*, 760.

⁵ *Ath.*, vi. 225c.

⁷ *Alciph.*, i. 20, 1–2.

salted goods. All the countries on the shores of the Black Sea prepared preserves of sturgeon and tunny, the famous *ταρίχη ποντικά*, for which Olbia was the great market.¹

Above all, the sea was for the Greek the chief means of intercourse. The progress of navigation was continuous. In the beginning, Homer's Greeks used the same vessel as the Ægeans—an undecked boat, with a high prow and a lower stern, driven by sail and oars, and steered with a primitive rudder made of two oars aft. These little boats were light craft, easily capsized and incapable of carrying many passengers and much cargo. So the open sea was generally avoided; one hugged the coast as much as possible, and went from the mainland to an island, and from one island to another, reducing sea crossings to a minimum, and incurring long portages in consequence. Troy commanded the road by which one went from the Ægean to the Propontis, avoiding the contrary winds and currents of the Dardanelles,² and Mycenæ stood on the road taken by travellers between the Gulf of Corinth and the Gulf of Argos.

The ship of the classical period had the same general line as that of earlier times. But she was safer, being decked, and improved either in tonnage or in speed. There were two distinct types, the "round ships," or merchantmen, and the "long ships," or war vessels. The former were broader and tubbier, so as to carry more cargo. Some held a weight of 10,000 talents, corresponding to a capacity of 250–260 tons. The hold was thereby ballasted, so as to counteract the pressure of the wind on the sail, for they were driven by sails alone, to reduce the expense of rowers; the few oars carried were only for turning the ship to the wind, and were not enough to propel her. The second type, built chiefly for speed and ease of evolution, developed in length so as to accommodate as many rowers as possible along the sides, canvas being used only as a subsidiary aid. The number of rowers was further increased by arranging the banks one above the other. The long ship, with twenty-five rowers on each side, which was said to have been used by the Phocæans first among the Greeks,³ was gradually superseded by the bireme, the invention of which was ascribed to the sailors of

¹ Strabo, iii. 2. 6; vii. 6. 2; Ath., iii. 116A–121E.

² LXVIIa, pp. 466, 468; LXXX, i, p. 81.

³ Hdt., i. 163.

Erythræ,¹ though the compiler of the *Catalogue of Ships* already knows it,² and some recognize it on Dipylon vases.³ Then came the trireme, which was brought into general use among the Greeks by the Corinthians,⁴ if they did not actually invent it.⁵

As ships developed, it became necessary to improve shelters and harbours. The earliest vessels were light enough to be beached high and dry when they hove to at night. Therefore sandy beaches were preferred, on which it was easy to haul up a boat; the oldest port of Athens was the beach at Phaleron. But when ships of greater draught were built, the practice of dragging them ashore wherever they put in was discontinued. Then deep-water harbours were adopted; the roadsteads of Munychia and the Peiræus were fitted for the Athenian triremes. The equipment of a port included wharves with mooring-stones, breakwaters for protection against the swell of the open sea, and slips above the water-line (νεώσοικοι) for vessels not taking the sea. The most complete arrangements date from Hellenistic times, but by the IVth century the Peiræus, with its merchant harbour and its war harbour, its breakwater, its wharves lined with porticoes and halls, its ship-houses for triremes, and its rigging-store, had all the essentials of a big port.

With improved material and better-equipped harbours, long voyages could be attempted. But old habits were not completely abandoned. The overland route was still preferred to the sea-route in many cases; Oropos continued to be, like the Peiræus, one of the ports of Athens, and received the corn of Eubœa, which went on by Deceleia, rather than round Cape Sunion, to save time and expense.⁶ Cape Malea was still regarded as a dangerous obstacle, especially in the bad season; the Athenians feared that they would not be able to send supplies to their troops before Pylos in the winter.⁷

Rather than take the shortest route, the navigator continued to follow the coast and to pass from island to island,

¹ Pliny, *H. N.*, vii. 207.

² *Il.*, ii. 510.

³ **XXV**, xix (1899), pl. viii; **XXIX**, s.v. *Navis*, figs. 5265, 5266; **XXXVII**, i, p. 275.

⁴ Thuc., i. 13.

⁵ Hdt., ii. 159.

⁶ Dicæ., 7; Thuc., vii. 28; viii. 95. Cf. Epidauros in relation to Argos, Thuc., v. 53.

⁷ Thuc., iv. 27.

especially since the frequent halts allowed him to pick up passengers or goods. In the Ægean the northern routes went towards Chios and Lesbos, the southern to Samos. To sail from Athens to Egypt, you crossed the Ægean and touched at Rhodes, Phaselis, Cyprus, and the ports of Phœnicia; it was in the waters of Cyprus that the Lacedæmonians lay in wait for the convoys which took the corn from Egypt to Athens.¹ The Peloponnesians used a more direct route by Cythera and Crete, whence they made either Cyrenaica or the Nile Delta. So, too, ships bound for the Euxine seldom left the coast; from the Saronic Gulf, they rounded the end of Attica and sailed up the Euripos, putting in at Oropos,² Chalcis,³ and Histiaea;⁴ after touching at Pagasæ in Thessaly,⁵ they followed the coast of Macedonia and Thrace, calling, if necessary, at Potidæa, Olynthos, and Eion, the port of Amphipolis, until they reached the Hellespont; there they were often obliged by contrary winds and currents to wait at Sestos or Abydos; finally, Byzantium was the last port of call before entering the Euxine.

Concurrently with ship-building and the fitting of harbours, the art of navigation progressed. The old empirical rules were corrected by scientific observations. There were still some who thought to influence the winds by magical formulæ,⁶ but navigators had learned, by studying the conditions, to make use of favourable winds⁷ and to avoid contrary ones.⁸ Information which might be of service to sailors was carefully collected; Timosthenes, Ptolemy II's admiral, wrote a treatise on harbours in ten books, which, like our *Sailing Directions*, gave all useful facts about distances, winds, and moorings.⁹ Voyages were done quicker. In the Vth century a ship could make about 124 nautical miles in twenty-four hours, that is, five or six nautical miles an hour.¹⁰ From the Peiræus, Ephesos was reached in two days,¹¹ Lampsacos in four, Byzantium in five, Odessos in eight.¹² It took three days

¹ Thuc., viii. 35.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 28; viii. 95; Dicæ., 7; Strabo, ix. 2. 6.

³ Dicæ., 29. ⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, V. 4. 56.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, V. 4. 56; Strabo, ix. 5. 15; Hermip., ap. Ath., i. 27f.

⁶ Paus., ii. 12. 1; Hesych., s.v. 'Ανεμοκοῖται. ⁷ Thuc., ii. 84.

⁸ Hdt., vii. 168; Dem., *Phil.*, i. 48; *Chers.*, 93.

⁹ Strabo, ix. 3. 10; CXXXIV, p. 153.

¹⁰ Hdt., iv. 86; cf. Thuc., ii. 97; Lycurg., 70; LXXX, i, p. 87.

¹¹ Cf. Thuc., iii. 3.

¹² LXXVII, p. 260, map No. 1.

and two nights to cross the Euxine at its greatest breadth.¹ The courier who announced the victory of Ægos Potamos at Sparta did the crossing in three days.² The sea-routes were all the more frequented because fares were low ; it cost only two obols to go from the Peiræus to Ægina, and two drachmas to go from Attica to Egypt or to the shores of the Euxine.³ Freights were also low ; the cost of carrying certain tiles from Corinth to Eleusis was only 4% of the price of purchase.⁴ Even when prices seem very high, they are nothing compared with the cost of carriage by land ; for a block of tufa, the cutting of which in the quarry cost 61 drachmas, freight from the port of Lechæon to that of Cirrha was 224 drachmas, or about 370%, but carriage by road from the port to Delphi was 420 drachmas, or about 690%.⁵ The sea-passage was about forty nautical miles, the overland portion of the journey about ten English miles.

So travelling by sea steadily grew easier and more frequent. There was no Greek but was ready for the longest voyage. The sea was the Greek's home, no less than the land, and we can understand Plato when he compares men to frogs clustered round a pond.⁶

5. NATURE AND HUMAN EFFORT

The Greek lands were, beyond dispute, a favourable environment for the development of civilization. In addition to the general advantages afforded by all temperate countries, Greece had its extreme diversity. At every page of our study we have laid stress on this quality of variety, variety of soil and landscape, variety of climate, variety of vegetation and forms of agriculture. The consequence was an equal variety in the life of the inhabitants ; with the manifold aspects of nature went manifold aspects of human activity. There was no people in Greece which we can reduce to one uniform type. Everywhere we find different forms of labour mingled, and mingled in varying proportions. The incessant contact of human groups, with opposite and complementary occupations and qualities, could not

¹ Hdt., iv. 86.

² Plato, *Gorg.*, 511D.

³ *XL*, xxvi (1902), p. 57.

⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 1. 30.

⁵ *II*, ii. 834b, ll. 71-3.

⁶ Plato, *Phædo*, 109B

fail to stimulate the curiosity and awaken the intelligence of all.

But in Greece, if nature helps man, it is still more necessary that man should help himself. Progress varies with the efforts made by man to master nature. In Egypt the preservation and distribution of water created social ties at an early date. But the Egyptian fellah could depend on the rising of the river and the fertility of the alluvium; rocked in the cradle of the floods in perfectly regular rhythm, he falls asleep in the carelessness of a too easy life; so Egyptian civilization seems to stop as soon as it is born, and, though we must not exaggerate its fixity, it remains almost unchanged from the Old Kingdom of Memphis to the Roman occupation. The Greek, on the other hand, is obliged to fight incessantly to hold the ground which he has won from nature. If he neglects the manifold work of improvement for one moment, civilization falls back. Soil which is left untilled deteriorates; ground no longer held by retaining walls is carried away by torrential rains; low-lying land where the drains are not kept up reverts to malaria-stricken fen. Nature, left to herself, would soon make the country uninhabitable.

We must, then, abandon any attempt at a geographical determinism which would explain Greek civilization by its environment. In this same country, in which natural conditions remain the same, the whole of life is transformed as soon as the peoples change. Man's action plays a preponderant part here. From the consideration of the country, which has shown us of what it was capable, we must pass to that of the peoples, who could turn these possibilities into realities.

PART TWO

THE PEOPLES

CHAPTER I

THE RACES AND PEOPLES

1. THE EVIDENCE OF THE LEGENDS

“NATIONS do not retain the memory of their earliest days any more than individuals.”¹ Of the early history of the lands which became Greece the Greeks themselves knew nothing. They contented themselves with mythical tales in which the adventures of men were mixed with the adventures of gods. When the legends had been collected into works like the Homeric poems, the literary value of which obliged all Greeks to know and study them, they seemed beyond criticism. When Thucydides makes his rapid survey of primitive Greece,² he draws on Homer for his premisses; yet he makes a praiseworthy attempt at reconstruction, making use, in the interpretation of his texts, of all that was furnished him by the sciences which are the handmaidens of history—geography, comparative ethnology, and even archæology. When Aristotle wishes to draw a picture of primitive Athens,³ he seeks to reconstruct ancient institutions in the light of those of his own time, and cites survivals as indications or evidence of what existed formerly. So in Thucydides and Aristotle the history of early times is no more than a work of reconstruction, quite as hypothetical as that of modern scholars. It would be a very strange mistake to invoke as historical evidence what they say about the Greece of Minos or pre-Solonian Athens.

In the absence of a history written by the ancients, modern students have thought it possible to make use of the

¹ L. Ménard, *Hist. gr.*, i, p. 54.

² Thuc., i. 2-12.

³ Arist., *Æth. pol.*, 1-3.

legends, and, by patient exegesis, to discover the stuff of history beneath the ornaments of myth. These attempts at reconstruction, ingenious as they often are, seem destined to failure.

The oldest Greek history generally takes the form of genealogies. The great families liked to draw up a list of their ancestors and to trace their descent to a hero or a god. In Homer the heroes boast of their ancestors,¹ and Hesiod constructed his *Theogony* as a genealogical poem. The earliest logographers merely imitated the poets; Acusilaos, Pherecydes, and Hecataeos wrote genealogies. Like Hesiod, Acusilaos began with Chaos and went on to the gods, and then to heroes and men. Some have endeavoured to extract historical data from these mythical genealogies, observing that the ancients meant, by the kinship of heroes, to indicate the kinship of peoples and races. Thus Hellen, the father of all the Greeks, has three sons, Æolos, Doros, and Xuthos, and from this last Achæos and Ion are born. Here, of course, we have the traditional division into Æolians, Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians, and if Achæos and Ion are brothers it points to the common origin of the Achæans of the epics and the Ionians of classical times. So, too, if Æolos has a son Magnes,² the eponymous hero of the Magnetes, and daughters named Tanagra³ and Arne,⁴ who give their names to Bœotian towns, it shows that the Thessalians and Bœotians are of Æolian stock. Read in this way, the mythical genealogies are said to give us information regarding ethnical affinities.

If the hero personifies the people, the adventures of the hero will be the mythical version of the history of the people. Theseus, the hero of Marathon, is the author of the synœcism which created the Athenian State; if we translate legend into history, we shall say that the movement towards unity began with the Marathonian Tetrapolis and was completed when that association incorporated the other villages of Attica.⁵ In the same way, the wanderings of heroes will be interpreted as migrations of peoples. The return of the Heracleidæ to their home in Argos, whence they had been driven by Eurystheus, is nothing more or less than the

¹ E.g. *Il.*, xiii. 447-53; xxi. 84-6.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 20. 1.

⁴ Paus., ix. 40. 5.

³ Paus., vi. 21. 11.

⁵ **XXIX**, s.v. *Tetrapolis*.

Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese ; when Pausanias speaks of these events he uses mythical or historical terminology indifferently.

Attempts have also been made to extract historical data from the movements of the legends themselves. If the same myth or the same cult is found at different points in Greece, it is inferred that it was transported by a given people, which has thus left a trace of its wanderings. The spread of the cult of Heracles, who is regarded as the especial hero of the Dorians, is taken to mark the advance of the Dorian invasion. The quarrel of Apollo and Heracles for the possession of the prophetic tripod,¹ or the organization by Heracles, who measures the stadium with his foot,² of the games founded in honour of Pelops,³ will symbolize the establishment of the Dorians in the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, from which they eliminate the former occupants. If we claim to see in Thessaly the first Argos where Agamemnon reigned, if we find the sceptre of Agamemnon treated as a cult-object at Chæroneia, and if, finally, we take the Homeric tradition of Agamemnon as king of Mycenæ, we shall have no difficulty in seeing a people start from Thessaly, stay some time in Bœotia, and finally settle in Argolis, taking with it the cult of its hero, or rather its god, Zeus Agamemnon.⁴

These are some of the ways in which mythical data are utilized. The scholars who have indulged in these researches have expended an infinite amount of talent, and sometimes, by accumulating hypotheses and ingeniously connecting one piece of evidence with another, they carry their readers with them. One must, however, resist the seductions of beautiful systems, and subject their arguments to close examination.

First of all, it must not be forgotten that any story passed down by oral tradition changes rapidly, so that it is impossible to discern the authentic facts. Polybius has already noted the uncertainty of traditions passed by word of mouth through several generations.⁵ Modern ethnologists, who believe that they have determined the value of oral tradition by experiment, consider that "among societies which do

¹ Paus., viii. 37. 1 ; x. 13. 7.

² Paus., v. 8. 3 ; viii. 48. 1.

³ Polyb., iv. 2.

⁴ Aul. Gel., N.A., i. 1.

⁵ CXVIII, p. 29.

not practise writing, the memory of a historical fact is not preserved for more than five or six generations, or 150 years on an average and 200 years at most."¹ Since a longer interval than this lies between the events recorded in the legends and the earliest writers, we might a priori reject all mythical accounts without further examination.

The uncertainty of tradition increases with the innumerable variants which one and the same legend presents. Never, says Pausanias, do the Greeks agree about a myth.² How should modern expositors be more fortunate in finding their way amid these contradictory data? For the descendants of Hellen, for example, Euripides gives a genealogy quite different from that usually accepted;³ according to him, Ion is the son of Apollo, and from the union of Xuthos and Creusa Doros and Achæos are born. In this case it is easy to find the reason for the alterations made in the traditional theme. The Athenian poet wants to give the Ionians a divine origin, which shall justify the pretension of Athens to dominate Greece, and at the same time to depreciate the Dorians by making them two generations removed from Hellen. But in many cases there is no explanation to guide us. How, for example, shall we choose between the various pedigrees of Temenos, the eponym of the kings of Argos? The current tradition makes him one of the Heracleidæ, but at Stymphalos he was called the son of Pelasgos,⁴ and at Psophis he was the son of Phegeus, a kinsman of Pelasgos.⁵ In the one case we shall take him for a Dorian hero, in the other for an old national hero of Argos, and we shall accordingly infer either the survival of a considerable native population in Argolis or the ascendancy assumed over the natives by the Dorian invaders.

Besides, does the myth really represent an oral tradition and folk memories? Generally it seems to be of literary origin, and to have been invented to account for facts for which the true explanation could not be found. The eponymous hero did not give his name to the people or the city; he was created from the name of the people or city. What interest, for example, is there in noting that Rhodo bore

¹ Van Gennep, *La Formation des légendes*, p. 163.

² Paus., ix. 16. 7.

³ Eur., *Ion*, 1575 ff.

⁴ Paus., viii. 22. 2.

⁵ Paus., viii. 24. 10.

Helios three sons, Camiros, Ialysos, and Lindos?¹ The legend is not confirmed by the facts observed in classical times, for it may have been invented just to explain these facts. In the same way, in classical times two Achæas were known, that in Phthiotis and that on the southern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, and, furthermore, the Homeric poems make the Achæans the subjects of Agamemnon and Menelaos; may the history of the Achæan migrations not have been invented to reconcile these different data? The Achæans come from Phthiotis, settle with Pelops in the Peloponnese, and then, driven from Laconia by the Dorians, take refuge in the north-west of the peninsula, whence they drive out the Ionians to Asia. The similarities noted between the Cypriot and Arcadian dialects may have given currency to the legend of Agapenor of Tegea colonizing Paphos.² The grouping of the Ionian cities and of the Achæan cities in twelves led men to suppose that the Ionians had come from Achæa.³ The curious details of costume found among the Lydians and the Etruscans alike led to a belief that the latter had come by sea from Asia Minor to Italy.⁴

All these resemblances, noted by the ancients, are of value, and may furnish arguments for one theory or another. We, too, must take them up and try to explain them. But we must not argue from legendary traditions which add absolutely nothing to established facts. To attempt to reconstruct the early history of the Greek peoples from mythological stories is to undertake a labour the results of which can never be more than hypothetical. The sole interest of legend is to tell us how the Greeks of classical times imagined their beginnings; we must not ask it for any real facts.

2. THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE

The distribution of the Greeks in ethnic groups, symbolized by the genealogy of the sons of Hellen, was based in antiquity on the grouping of local dialects in linguistic families. For the ancients, race and language are one. Already the author of the lines interpolated into the *Odyssey* about the Cretan

¹ Pind., *Ol.*, 71-74.

² Paus., viii. 5. 2; 53. 7.

³ Hdt., i. 146.

⁴ Hdt., i. 94.

cities¹ makes difference of language the sign of difference of people, and Strabo founds his classification of the *ἔθνη* on dialects.² Modern philologists, better armed with comparative grammar, have carried the study of Greek dialects very far, and, in addition to the three groups recognized by the ancients, Ionic, Æolic, and Doric, they have distinguished a fourth, Arcado-Cypriot.

The three dialects which compose this last group, Arcadian, Cypriot, and Pamphylian, have certain similarities which permit us to say that they are derived from one common language. This common language may well have been the most ancient of the Greek languages spoken in the Balkans. Dislocated by the invasions, it could only hold its own in countries which, either by their isolation in the mountains, like Arcadia, or by their remoteness, like Cyprus and Pamphylia, lost contact with the other Greek countries, where the invaders imposed new dialects.³

Ionic, in historical times, is spoken in Eubœa, in the Cyclades (except the southern islands), on the coasts of Asia Minor from Halicarnassos to Phocœa, and in the colonies which the cities of Eubœa and Asia Minor founded on the Euxine and in Chalcidice, Italy, and Gaul.⁴ We must add Athens; although the Attic dialect retains a more archaic appearance, it is evidently of the same origin as the Ionic of Asia.⁵ The Ionic group is remarkable for its unity. No doubt regional differences may be observed; the cities of Eubœa have not exactly the same speech as the cities of Asia, and among these latter Herodotos knows four dialects.⁶ But, though the spoken language maintains local forms, the written language does not know them. Civilized early, and bound together by all kinds of commercial and intellectual relations, the Ionians very soon found out the value of a common language, understood and spoken by all. This language, fixed by official use, is a language of civilization, the first in date in the Greek world, and when it is adopted by the writers it produces the first literary prose.⁷

The Æolic dialects fall into three groups—the Æolic of Asia, spoken on the coasts of Asia Minor from Phocœa to the

¹ *Od.*, xix. 172.

² Strabo, viii. 1. 2.

³ XLV, pp. 87-90.

⁴ XLV, p. 76.

⁵ XLV, pp. 79, 87.

⁶ *Hdt.*, i. 142.

⁷ XLV, pp. 78, 234.

Hellespont, and known to us solely from the speech of Lesbos; Thessalian, the numerous varieties of which belong to two types, that of Thessaliotis and that of Pelasgiotis; and Bœotian, which, unlike the others, has a real unity. There is not much unity about Æolic as a whole. One form will be found only in Thessalian and Bœotian, another in Bœotian and Æolic, another in Thessalian and Æolic. There are no features common to all three groups. Thessalian seems to stand midway between Bœotian and the Æolic of Asia.¹

The dialects of the West are generally classed together, but this grouping is artificial. It is wrong to call them Doric. The ancients gave this term a very restricted and exact meaning, and, on the other hand, used the term Æolic in a wider sense than modern philologists. For Strabo, all the peoples north of the Isthmus, except the Megarians, Athenians and Dorians of Doris, speak Æolic.² In reality, the Western dialects are in two groups, the North-western group, comprising Phocis, Locris, Ætolia, Acarnania, Epeiros, and, in the Peloponnese, Elis, and the Doric group properly so called, which comprises the Peloponnese (except Arcadia and Elis), the southern Cyclades and Crete, the southern end of the coast of Asia Minor, and the colonies founded by Greek cities of Doric speech, such as Byzantion, Cyrene, and Syracuse. Between these two groups there certainly are fairly great similarities, but the particular features common to both are simply survivals of the common Greek from which they are derived, and not innovations of their own. It is, therefore, impossible to assert a closer kinship between them. What is more, the Doric tongues themselves, though presenting the same general appearance, have no feature which is at once common to them all and foreign to other dialects, so that philology by itself would not be enough to establish the unity of the Doric languages.³ The Doric tongues, spoken by rural populations more or less shut off from one another, remained local dialects; except in Sicily and Great Greece, Doric prose hardly raised itself, like Ionic, to the dignity of a language of civilization and literature.⁴

From all the facts collected by the philologists, and from

¹ XLV, pp. 92-6.

² XLV, pp. 98-104.

³ Strabo, viii. 1. 2.

⁴ XLV, p. 240.

the classification which they have established, what information can we obtain regarding the history, and in particular the early history, of the Greek peoples? First, does the study of Greek tell us anything about the oldest populations of the peninsula and of the islands? Greek contains a great number of words which are not explained by Indo-European, and have therefore been borrowed from languages of another type. Since very few can be recognized with certainty as Semitic,¹ we must admit that the Greeks either picked them up in the course of their migrations, or else took them from the peoples of the Ægean world.² Down to historical times there survived in Cyprus, Crete, and Lemnos languages which, being neither Indo-European nor Semitic, must represent pre-Hellenic idioms.³ But of these latter we know nothing,⁴ and the few indications furnished by the study of place-names—most of them in Greece, and not to be explained by Greek—do not permit us to come to any certain conclusion.⁵ We may, without going wrong, assert that the language spoken by the Ægeans had a great influence on the formation of Greek,⁶ but we must abide by this general assertion, and not make any exact statement in particular cases.

Does Greek at least give more information about the populations of Indo-European speech? Where and when did the peoples live who spoke the common Indo-European? We do not know;⁷ nor do we know where or when the branch of common Greek split off from the common stock. While the philologists refuse to confirm or deny the connexion which the ancients asserted between Thracian and Phrygian, they at least say that Thracian is not closely related to Greek, and we may suppose that the Thracians and Hellenes had been long separated, and that the Hellenic migrations came down the Balkans by the western routes.⁸

It is equally hard to define exactly the relations of the Greek dialects with one another. We seem to have, in Ionic on the one side and the Western group on the other, two extremes, between which Arcado-Cypriot and Æolic stand as intermediate types.⁹ But reality is infinitely complex and does not fit into rigid compartments. The bounds of the

¹ XLV, p. 52.

⁴ XLV, pp. 47, 55.

⁷ XLV, p. 10.

² XLV, pp. 59–60.

⁵ XLV, p. 57.

⁸ XLV, p. 54.

³ XLV, p. 48.

⁶ XLV, p. 60.

⁹ XLV, p. 111.

various dialects overlap,¹ not only because the dialects may retain common features of their common origin, but still more because they have never ceased to act and re-act on one another, a reciprocal penetration which is very natural in a country where exchanges of every kind between one people and another have always been numerous and easy. It is, therefore, almost impossible to establish the linguistic facts in well-ordered chronological series, and thereby to assert the derivation or kinship of two Greek languages. Still less can we extend our conclusions, and go from the language to the people which speaks it. If two populations have the same speech, that proves, no doubt, that at a given moment they were in fairly close relations. But when, and for how long, and in what form—conquest, peaceful penetration, or commercial exchanges—were these relations established? We should not know, if we had not other sources of information.

The historian is tempted to make the history of the Greek dialects the history of the Greek tribes, forgetting that language is independent of race and nationality. The philologist, on the other hand, asks the historian for the precise data which he needs in order to place the languages in their historical setting, and, with extreme caution, he refuses to reconstruct Greek prehistory from linguistic records. "Except for certain large general features, such as the distribution of the Greek tongues in four main groups, or the existence of an Ionic group, which, by historical times, had become little more than a *κοινή*, and of a Doric group, which was fairly soon broken up into an infinity of independent dialects, philology is hardly capable of supplying a historian with definite data. Above all, while it may confirm facts established by other means, it cannot be used to construct a prehistory of Greece."²

8. THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGY

Nothing tells us more about vanished civilizations than the material traces which they have left. Though the ancients did not conduct methodical researches and carry out archæological excavations like modern scholars, they were able to

¹ XLV, p. 7.

² LXXVIII, p. 113.

make use of chance discoveries. When the Spartans thought that they had found the bones of Orestes at Tegea,¹ and when the Athenians opened the tomb on Scyros which held the supposed remains of Theseus, with a sword and spear-head of bronze,² they were certainly in the presence of ancient interments, far older than classical times. On Delos the tombs of the Hyperborean Maidens,³ which were respected during the purification of 418, were without any doubt prehistoric tombs, to which their great antiquity gave a sacred character, perhaps the Mycenæan ossuary found inside the sanctuary.⁴ Among the offerings preserved in the temples there were objects which were held to have belonged to the mythical heroes; that is to say, they dated from the most distant past. The spear of Achilles in the temple of Athene at Phaselis⁵ was certainly a bronze weapon of Mycenæan times, and Mycenæan, without doubt, were the jewels shown at Delphi,⁶ Delos,⁷ and Amathus⁸ as being the famous necklace of Eriphyle, the work of Hephæstos. The most extraordinary relic which Pausanias saw at Sparta, the egg said to have been laid by Leda,⁹ must have been one of the ostrich-eggs from Egypt with which the Ægean or Mycenæan princes loved to adorn their dwellings.¹⁰ Just as they could contemplate the walls and gate of Mycenæ¹¹ or the bee-hive tombs which they called the Treasury of Atreus¹² and the Treasury of Minyas,¹³ so, too, the ancients had beneath their eyes movable objects of the early ages of Greece.

It is true that, over-trustful in their legendary history, they did not know how to use these documents. It requires a cautious, discerning mind like that of Thucydides to perceive the value of archæological data; when he wishes to prove the occupation of the Cyclades by the Carians, Thucydides notes that, among the tombs cleared on Delos during the purification of 418, some could be recognized as Carian by the mode of interment and the shape of the weapons laid beside the dead man.¹⁴ It would not be surprising if these

¹ Hdt., i. 67-8; Paus., iii. 3. 6; 11. 10. ² Plut., *Thes.*, 36.

³ Hdt., iv. 35. ⁴ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1907, p. 338.

⁵ Paus., iii. 3. 8. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 41. 2. ⁷ *II*, xi. 287B, l. 18.

⁸ Paus., ix. 41. 2. ⁹ *Ibid.*, iii. 16. 1.

¹⁰ *LXXIX*, p. 71; *XLVII*, iii, pp. 856-66; *CXXVII*, p. 315.

¹¹ Paus., ii. 16. 5. ¹² *Ibid.*, ii. 16. 6. ¹³ *Ibid.*, ix. 36. 4.

¹⁴ Thuc., i. 8.

remarks of Thucydides had suggested the story that, in the alleged arbitration between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis, Solon had invoked as an argument the identical orientation of the tombs on Salamis and at Athens.¹

The moderns, on the other hand, have expected much from the exploration of ancient sites, and have obtained much. Archæological discoveries have given us entirely new knowledge of Greek origins. With the excavations of Schliemann the whole Mycenæan period rose from the shades, and with those of Evans the whole Ægæo-Cretan age. Thereby we recovered more than ten centuries behind Homer; and excavations in Bœotia, Phocis, Thessaly, and Macedon are still revealing to us, behind the Ægeans, the Neolithic age, and taking us back to the first human settlements in the Balkans.

Methodical researches have enabled us to establish a chronological system. First, and above all, it is a relative chronology. Like the geologist, the archæologist studies the stratification of the deposits left by successive settlements, and from it deduces their age. The classical example is the site of Troy, where careful study has made it possible to recognize nine layers, one above the other, from the Neolithic Troy I to the Græco-Roman Troy IX. Between one site and another we identify strata by the finds; potsherds in particular are for the archæologist what fossils are for the geologist, and help him to recognize the age of a given stratum. It is more difficult to establish an absolute chronology, that is, to date each archæological period with reference to the Christian era. Greek chronology was based on the lists of eponyms drawn up in cities or sanctuaries; the most celebrated was that of the Olympic victors, which began with the First Olympiad in 776. But these lists do not go back beyond the VIIIth century, and are very suspect in their earlier parts. For the previous epochs dates can only be obtained by comparison with those of peoples which came into history earlier, the peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Finds of Egyptian objects, especially scarabs bearing the names of Pharaohs, make it possible to establish synchronisms between the Ægean or Mycenæan periods and the Egyptian dynasties. But these concordances are rare, and

¹ Plut., *Sol.*, 10.

Egyptian chronology is itself too uncertain to furnish an indisputable basis for the chronology of prehistoric Greece.

Up to the present, Greek soil has yielded no specimen of Palæolithic industry. The oldest traces of man in Greece belong to Neolithic times. And pure Neolithic appears only in Crete; on the mainland the earliest civilizations belong to the end of Neolithic times, or rather to the so-called Chalcolithic or "Æneolithic" period, which is marked by the first tools of copper. At that time one same civilization extends over the whole of mainland Greece, and its unity is only broken by the action of populations which, with the use of bronze, develop much more rapidly than the others. Arriving by the sea, the Ægæo-Cretan culture spreads over all the shores of the Mediterranean and penetrates inland to varying depths. While northern Greece, half barbaric, adheres to its Neolithic dwellings and tools, central Greece and the Peloponnese, at the touch of the Ægeans, awake to civilization.

Then the Ægæo-Cretan civilization is modified, and new elements appear, characteristic of a later age. Such, for example, is the type of dwelling. In contrast to the irregular assemblage of rooms, flat-topped and mostly square, which produces the intricate plan of the Cretan palaces, there appears a house with a simple plan, all in one piece—a long rectangle, with the entrance in the end, no upper floor, and a gabled, overhanging roof.¹ At Phæstos this type of dwelling, the *megaron* type, belongs to a higher stratum than that which contains the Ægean palace;² therefore the two buildings represent two successive periods, separated by a certain interval. This civilization, in which novelties mingle with the heritage of the Ægeans and transform it, has been given the name of Mycenæan. It first developed on the mainland, and from there spread to the islands and to Crete, where it finally supplanted the Cretan civilization.

The Mycenæan civilization in its turn undergoes a transformation. Without disappearing, the older elements become fainter and fainter, while new elements come to predominate. Thus, the naturalistic ornament of the Ægeans, who took their inspiration from the living world, is superseded by a

¹ LXXXIV, 51 ff., 114 ff. See also Glotz, *The Ægean Civilization*, pp. 125 ff.

² LXXXII, pp. 400 ff.

purely decorative ornament of combinations of lines and geometrical elements. The chief characteristic of this new age is the general use of iron ; in the tombs of the Dipylon, beside vases of Geometric style, the first iron swords appear.¹ With the Iron age we are on the brink of historical times.

Archæology offers a certainty which is satisfying to the mind, but we must not ask more of it than it can give. The archæologists, just as cautious as the philologists, confine themselves to their own sphere, without attempting to extend their conclusions beyond it. When Messrs. Wace and Thompson describe the successive prehistoric civilizations of Thessaly, they formally declare that they use none but archæological evidence, and exclude all question of race and all legendary names.² In the same spirit, Herr Bulle adopts purely conventional denominations for the strata recognized by him at Orchomenos, so as not to bring in traditional data, such as the existence of a Minyan people.³

Even if one does not go outside the domain of archæology, one is obliged to ask how one civilization succeeded another. There are two cases. Either a civilization develops slowly by a natural evolution ; then it is supposed that it belongs to one same people, which remains for a long time in the same habitat, and if certain new elements are perceived they are ascribed to the influence of the neighbouring peoples—an influence exerted by mere contact, through peaceful commercial dealings. This is how Neolithic Greece is supposed to have developed, through contact with the islanders. Or else one civilization suddenly supplants another, and there is no apparent point of contact between the two ; in that case changes in the population are assumed, the arrival of a people of conquerors who impose their own culture on the conquered. At Orchomenos, Herr Bulle observes such profound differences between the stratum of the *Bothroi* and the oldest Mycenæan stratum that he infers the settlement of a new population of foreign race.⁴ But need one say how hypothetical such inferences are ? A civilization may be transmitted from a conquered population to its conquerors without showing any hiatus, just as if it was developing in a slow and normal way. Foreign influences

¹ **XVII**, xiii (1888), p. 297.

³ **XCVI**, p. 53.

² **XCII**, p. 240.

⁴ **XCVI**, p. 57.

may be strong enough to transform a civilization utterly without one population being supplanted by another. Common culture no more implies identity of race or nationality than does common speech.

Archæology fails as soon as we try to attach a historical name to anything which it has given us. For example, since the appearance of the Geometric style "coincides with the entrance of the Dorians on the scene,"¹ it has been concluded that this style was brought in by the Dorians. Sooner than give up the theory that it was a characteristic of the Dorians, some historians have admitted, in defiance of all tradition, that Attica was occupied by the Dorians, because the tombs of the Dipylon contained the purest examples of Geometric ware.² No doubt it is justifiable to contrast the naturalistic art of southern Europe, which delights in the suppleness and variety of life, with the decorative art of central Europe, with its love of symmetry and geometry,³ and the development of the Geometric style might represent a predominance of northern influences. But does that entitle us to identify the Geometric style with Dorian art? It has long been noted that the finest examples of the Geometric style come from Attica, that is, from a district which is shown by all the other evidence to have escaped the Dorian invasion. So, too, the Cyclades have a Geometric pottery of their own, for which the Dorians can hardly be made responsible. More significant still are the Geometric vases of Bœotia; the Bœotian potters were inspired by the wares of the Cyclades no less, and indeed more, than by that of the Dipylon,⁴ so that in central Greece the Geometric style travelled in the opposite direction to that supposed to have been taken by the Dorian invaders. So another hypothesis has been suggested; it is recalled that Neolithic pottery had had a very simple geometrical decoration, and it is supposed that this primitive ornament reappeared and assumed a new value when the Ægean influences, which had driven it out, were removed. We have not to choose between the hypotheses here, but this example is enough to show what difficulties one meets when one tries to attribute to a given people a civilization which has been defined by archæology.

¹ L, i, p. 220.

² L, i, p. 222.

³ LXXXIII, p. 41.

⁴ XI, xxxv (1911), p. 390.

4. THE EVIDENCE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

"A people may change in language, in habits, or in industry in a relatively short time; it cannot so quickly lose its height, its colour, or the shape of its skull."¹ Where language and archæology leave us in ignorance about the early populations of Greece, will anthropology help us? The question is especially important for those who would explain the character of the Greek people and of each particular Greek tribe by differences of race. At the present day, of the three races into which the Europeans may be divided, two predominate in the Balkans.² On the coasts, there is *Homo Mediterraneus*, short of stature and long-headed, with a long, narrow face, dark eyes, and black hair. Inland, there is *Homo Alpinus*, who also is of short or medium stature and has brown eyes and black or brown hair, but has a round head and a broad face. But can we believe that types have remained the same since antiquity, and are we justified in arguing from present facts to those of the past?

To study the races of ancient Greece we should have more evidence than we possess. The ancients made up no statistics like modern ethnologists. Only by chance do we find in them some allusion to the colour of the hair or eyes of the persons whose history they are relating. Painting has left practically nothing; sculpture, which is unacquainted with portraiture down to the IVth century, offers us a type conforming to the ideal of the Greeks, but how far did this type exist in reality? The Greek nose is justly famous; but how many had snub noses like Socrates?³ The most certain data are the measurements of bones and skulls found in the tombs. But very few skeletons have been scientifically measured, and the results are so various as to be very difficult to interpret. Thus, out of seven skulls found on the Hill of the Muses, and measured by Virchow, one is brachycephalic, two are mesocephalic, three are dolichocephalic, and one is hyperdolichocephalic;⁴ can any conclusion really be drawn from these figures? And must we not constantly bear in mind that in every country the most varied physical types

¹ De Quatrefages, quoted in LXXXV, p. 320.

² LXXXV, p. 326.

³ Plato, *Theæt.*, 143E.

⁴ LXXXIX, pp. 680-1.

are found at the same time, and that the whole question is, which is the most often represented ?¹

The Ægæo-Cretan paintings show us a man in whom we at once seem to recognize *Homo Mediterraneus*, and the measurements of the skeletons confirm this impression; short stature, long head, dark skin, black, wavy hair, all these are the orthodox signs of the Mediterranean race. But is the race pure ? Even the prehistoric tombs of the Cyclades present every shape of skull.² When the Ægæo-Cretan civilization is succeeded by the Mycenæan civilization, have we a new race ? Man's appearance changes ; the Cretan is clean-shaven, the Mycenæan has a full beard ; but this may be a matter of fashion rather than of physical peculiarity. The cranial measurements are very uncertain. Four skulls from graves at Mycenæ, Spata, and Nauplia are either brachycephalic or on the border-line of brachycephaly,³ and a brachycephalic skull has been found in Troy II.⁴ But dolichocephalic skulls are found also ; this is the most frequent form in Troy III.⁵ We need the other anthropological indications, the colour of the hair, eyes, and skin. Beside the brunet type the Greeks knew a blond type. About 10 % of the population of Greece is still blond to-day.⁶ In classical times we hear of blond Lacedæmonian and Bœotian women,⁷ and of fair-haired victors at the Nemean and Isthmian Games.⁸ Moreover, it seems that a rosy skin, blue eyes, and fair hair were regarded as marks of a superior beauty, the beauty of gods and heroes. Achilles and Menelaos are fair ; Helen is fair as Aphrodite of the golden locks. In view of this acknowledged superiority of the blonds, it was very tempting to recognize in them a superior race, an aristocracy of conquerors contrasted with the swarthy aborigines ;⁹ and, since the blond type conjures up *Homo Nordicus*, the tall, long-headed blond, did it not indeed represent the invader from central Europe, the Achæan or the Dorian ? This conclusion was a little hasty. Might not the esteem in which the blond type was held be equally well explained by its rarity ? Dark beauty was appreciated as well as fair beauty ; the Charites were blond,¹⁰ but the

¹ LXXXV, p. 339.

² XC, p. 225.

³ LXXXIX, pp. 677-80.

⁴ LXXXVIII, p. 103.

⁵ LXXXVIII, p. 103.

⁶ LXXXVI, p. 458.

⁷ Bacchyl., xix. 2 ; Dicæarch., 19.

⁸ Bacchyl., viii. 23 ; ix. 16.

⁹ LXXXVII, p. 50.

¹⁰ Pind., *Nem.*, v. 54.

Muses had locks dark as violets,¹ and so had the poetess Sappho.²

The anthropological evidence is so various that we may regard the population of classical Greece as a mixture. The Greek is chiefly a long-headed brunet, that is, a Mediterranean, but he is of mixed blood; perhaps the straight, thin Greek nose is an inheritance from Nordic man, the Mediterranean's nose being broader and often tip-tilted, like that of the young girl, sometimes called "the Parisienne," at Cnossos.³ But if we cannot determine the elements which mingled to produce the population of classical times, how can we hope to discern ethnical differences within that population? The Ionian, the Athenian, the Spartan were not different physically. A strong, healthy, supple, wiry body, regular features, a rather low forehead framed in wavy or curly hair, large eyes, a straight nose, a fine mouth, rather a big chin—all these features of a type which art and literature have glorified are common to the whole Greek people. It is useless to try to distinguish species in this genus. "Neither type nor race is, in the present state of mankind, an objective reality."⁴ The same was true from the earliest Greek antiquity. To introduce the notion of race into Greek history is to expose oneself light-heartedly to the countless errors to which the abuse of this term has led in moral science and in politics alike.⁵

5. GREEK ORIGINS

At the end of this investigation, one feels oneself overtaken by doubt and scepticism. Is it not a thankless, impossible task, to unravel the skein of Greek origins? We are faced with separate series of facts; each series, taken by itself, affords an ordered body of scientific material, but how can we pass from one to another? Between the observations and traditional stories of the ancients, the linguistic data, the relics of civilization, and the scanty anthropological evidence, where shall we find the concordances which would enable us to interpret one series by another? We must not forget how far any reconstruction is hypothetical. But the

¹ Pind., *Isth.*, vii. 23.

² Alcæ., fr. 55.

³ *B.S.A.*, vii, p. 57, fig. 17; cf. viii. p. 55, fig. 28.

⁴ Topin, iii. 2, p. 320.

⁵ *LXXXV*, p. 320.

part played by hypothesis is greater when we go into details. If we adhere to main lines, we shall perhaps not be so rash in recognizing a certain agreement between the more general evidences. Moreover, the general picture of Greek origins will receive, on one point at least, some light from historical documents, namely the Egyptian texts, which will supply us with the link by which to attach prehistory to proto-history.

The earliest peoples of whose existence we hear were, in spite of their late appearance, at the end of Neolithic times, still very little removed from the most primitive barbarism. With their tattooing, their obsidian knives and axes of polished stone, their coarse pottery decorated with incised ornament, and their round wattle-and-daub huts, these first inhabitants of what was to be Greece cannot have been far different from the savages of Polynesia. Over the whole peninsula one same civilization extended, but this does not mean that the race was necessarily the same. These peoples spoke languages which were not Indo-European, and may have been those which survived in classical times at certain points of the Ægean world, for example in Lemnos. Place-names have probably kept traces of them; that of *Larissa*, which is found so often in European and Asiatic Greece,¹ seems to belong to these lost languages, and to mean a citadel or fortified town. We shall call these primitive peoples Pelasgians, because this is the name which the ancients used for the populations which preceded the Hellenes and spoke a non-Hellenic language.² But we cannot say what the Pelasgians really were. Were they the Swan Tribe, *παραργοί*?³ Were they originally a branch of the Pelagones, and were they related to the Pæonians and Phrygians?⁴ We maintain a dreamy silence when we see a learned man draw the physical and moral portrait of the Pelasgians and solemnly declare that they were an "alert, energetic race, with warm, single-hearted passions, great intelligence, and a patient, stubborn will."⁵ It goes without saying that for us "Pelasgian" is only a convenient term to enable us to set forth our matter without clumsy periphrasis.

The Pelasgians received the first elements of a higher

¹ Strabo, ix. 5. 19

² Hdt., i. 57; Thuc., iv. 109.

³ Strabo, ix. i. 18

⁴ LXXXI, pp. 98-9.

⁵ LXXXVII, p. 47.

civilization from the Ægæo-Cretans. This is not the place to speak at length of the Ægean civilization.¹ The only question which would concern us is, whether there was any connexion between the Ægæo-Cretans and the Pelasgians other than those of proximity and trade, which are sufficient in themselves to explain the influence of the former people on the latter. Were they of the same race? Did they speak dialects of the same language? We do not know; we cannot even say, of the survivals of pre-Hellenic times which we meet in classical Greece, whether they are "Pelasgian" or "Cretan."

About the end of the XVth century, new peoples appear in history, who are known to us from the Egyptian documents.² The Pharaohs who repelled the invasions of the Hittites from Asia and of the Libyans from Africa met in the ranks of their enemies men whom the Egyptian texts call "the Peoples of the Sea," and the names, in their Egyptian transcription, allow us to recognize peoples and cities of classical times. About 1280 the Hittite king who fought Rameses II at Kadesh had for auxiliaries the Mysians, Dardanians, Lycians, and men of Gergis, Pedasos, and Ilion. At the end of the XIIIth century the Libyans who attacked Meneptah were aided by Lycians, Achæans, and men of Tarsus, Sardis, and Sagalassos, and about 1190 we find the same peoples again, with the Philistines, among the invaders who came by land and by sea to threaten Egypt under Rameses III.

The "Peoples of the Sea" must be the ancestors of the classical peoples of Greece and Asia Minor. They are related, if not by race (regarding which we know almost nothing), at least by speech, for all their languages belong to the linguistic family which is called Indo-European. The new-comers descended from central Europe towards the Balkan Peninsula. Some went eastwards, and populated the two northern shores of the Ægean, Thrace and Phrygia, with kindred tribes. The others came by the west over the mountains of Illyria and Epeiros. These latter are the ancestors of the Hellenes. We may call them Achæans, giving the name the same conventional value as "Pelasgian"; at least it is attested by

¹ See Glotz, *The Ægean Civilization*, in this series.

² CXXVI, ii, pp. 359 ff.; XXXIV, i(2), pp. 800 ff.

the Egyptian transcription, and has remained alive in Greek tradition. The Homeric poems have no other word for the Hellenes, and the use of the term Πανελλήνους in the *Catalogue of Ships*¹ is enough to make Aristarchos reject the line.²

Arriving from the west, these first Greeks halted in Epeiros, and then went on into Thessaly; the two regions which in classical times preserved the memory of having been the first Hellas were the Dodone country³ and Phthiotis,⁴ and the latter kept the name of Achæa. From Thessaly they came down into central Greece, and then invaded the Peloponnese. Hitherto they had been landmen, who had taken the overland routes, but when they came into contact with the sea—a sea where everything made navigation easy and invited men to set sail—they became mariners. Drawn by the fame of Ægean riches, they reached the islands and landed in Crete; the Minoan empire was overthrown, the palaces were burned and destroyed. Finally, they even reached Cyprus; the Cypriot dialect, surviving from the common Achæan, was to bear witness to this earliest Hellenic expansion.

The Achæans introduced new elements of civilization. From the northern lands where they had had to protect themselves against rain and snow they brought the gable roof which best suits a wet climate, and from this arrangement of the roof all the characteristic features of the Achæan dwelling, the *megaron*, are derived. Being a people of warriors, who preferred close combat, whether on foot or in war-chariots, they had bronze armour covering the whole body; their superior armament gave them the victory over the Ægæo-Cretans, who had no defensive armour but a shield, and had for weapon a small triangular dagger which could not be so useful as the long, narrow Achæan sword. But, as usual, the conquered won the conquerors to their higher civilization. From the mixture of Cretan and Hellenic elements the Mycenæan civilization was formed. It carried on the Cretan civilization, but it must have been less brilliant, because the whole of Greece was still upset by the invasion and by incessant wars. The general state of insecurity was shown in the aspect of the strongholds of Tiryns and Mycenæ, where the Achæan prince could lie, ready to pounce down

¹ *Il.*, ii. 530.

² Cf. Thuc., i. 3.

³ Arist., *Meteor.*, i. 352A.

⁴ Thuc., i. 3.

on the plain and seize peasants and traders for ransom, and could keep treasure and loot behind the formidable ramparts. It was the beginning of a period in which brute force would predominate.

The Achæan invasion had none of the simplicity and regularity of an expedition prepared and conducted by a single leader. It was effected by successive arrivals of bands of various strength, and it would be very difficult to discover the dates and stages of these many migrations. The march of the last tribes which came down from the west at least seems to have impressed the memory of later ages sufficiently deeply to be distinguished from the others and regarded as an act equal in importance to the first invasion ; the Achæans had to give way before the Dorians as the Ægeans had done before the Achæans. The question of the Dorian invasion is still a very vexed one, and the ancient traditions about the expeditions of the Heracleidæ do not enable us to elucidate it. But it seems difficult not to accept it as a general fact, even if we do not admit every detail. The Achæans of Mycenæ were still in the Bronze age ; but there now appear weapons of iron, spears and swords, and iron-working spreads along the routes ascribed to the Dorian invasion.¹ Here again superior armament would be enough to explain the success of a new body of invaders, following almost the same roads as their predecessors, and supplanting the Achæans in Thessaly, in central Greece, in the Peloponnese, and in Crete. There are differences between the new-comers and the conquerors of the preceding age. The Dorian cities, for example, are divided into three tribes, *Δωριέες τριχάϊκες*,² whereas the Achæan cities have four ; already the author of the *Catalogue of Ships* groups the ships of the Dorians in multiples of three,³ and those of the other Greeks in multiples of four.⁴ Lastly, the movements of peoples which again disturbed the countries of the Ægean about the Xth century and led to the formation of Asiatic Greece are more easily explained if we suppose a new invasion throwing mainland Greece into confusion and causing departures and migrations.

If we nevertheless find it hard to assert that the Dorian invasion really took place, it is because the differences

¹ *XCII*, p. 255.

² *Od.*, xix. 177.

³ *Il.*, ii. 587, 654.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 545, 557, 671, 680.

between Dorians and Achæans are so slight. Whereas the Achæans originally had nothing in common with the Ægæo-Cretans, the Dorians and Achæans were merely tribes of one same people, related in race and speech. The differentiation, and still more the opposition, of the Greek peoples only appeared slowly and late. The names "Ionians"¹ and "Dorians"² are already found in the Homeric poems, but in late passages. Herodotos knows the Δωρικὸν γένος and the Ἴωνικὸν γένος,³ but he makes no mention of any kind of national spirit in either race, and he tells us that the Athenians were ashamed of being called Ionians.⁴ Turn from Herodotos to Thucydides: in the short interval the tone has completely changed. In the speeches which Thucydides places in the mouths of the Syracusan Hermocrates and the Athenian Euphemos⁵ the new feelings are clearly expressed; here we really have an Ionian side and a Dorian side, facing each other as eternal, irreconcilable enemies. For things to come to this, there had to be the rivalry of Athens and Sparta and all the hatreds let loose by war. The opposition of a Dorian race and an Ionian race was not the cause of the Peloponnesian War, but its consequence.

The fact is, the differences between the various Greek groups were but little marked at the beginning. The peoples, from the Pelasgians to the Dorians, had, from the migrations onward, mingled sufficiently for a single population to be formed, with common characteristics. Just as we must not look to the natural phenomena of the Greek lands for the explanation of their whole history, so we shall not find this explanation in differences of origin and racial contrasts. The climate, soil, and vegetation of Laconia and Attica were more like than unlike; and there was nothing specifically different in the Spartan and the Athenian man. In the VIIIth century the two cities must have been very much alike in institutions, habits, and economic life, and in the VIth century Sparta was not yet so very different from the rest of the Greek world; the "Dorian" spirit, conservative, military, and aristocratic, was the spirit of the whole of archaic Greece. The differentiation developed gradually with the historical development, the evolution of political

¹ *Il.*, xiii. 685.

² *Od.*, xix. 177.

³ *Hdt.*, i. 56.

⁴ *Hdt.*, i. 143.

⁵ *Thuc.*, vi. 76 ff.

and economic life. Certainly, the effect of environment and conditions of origin are not to be ignored ; but time, that is to say, the succession of events, had as much effect, if not more. It is by analysing the combinations of these three factors, geographical environment, population, and historical development, that we shall seek what distinguishes the various states of classical Greece in the period of their formation.

CHAPTER II

THE FRONTIERS OF GREECE PROPER

1. EPEIROS, ÆTOLIA, AND ACARNANIA

IT is not easy to define the boundaries of Greece precisely, especially as the populations which lived on the borders were of mixed race. The real characteristic of the Greek countries is the coast-line. Where land and sea no longer run one into the other the true Greece ends. On this principle we can say that the boundary of ancient Greece was roughly that laid down for modern Greece by the Agreement of 1881.

On the west, Greece began for the Greek historians in Acarnania.¹ Epeiros, further north, was no part of it, at least in classical times; in early days the country had been occupied by Hellenic populations, and indeed it was from here that the Greek migrations were believed to have started. This population of Hellenic race had survived in the region of Dodone. The Selli, who served the sanctuary of Zeus Naos, recalled by their very name the memory of this early Hellas.² But a considerable Illyrian stratum had been spread over the Greek elements. For the Greeks of the Vth century the Illyrians were barbarians, just like the Macedonians.³ As in Macedonia, the Greek colonies on the coast were centres of civilization, and, as in Macedonia, the kings adopted Hellenic manners sooner than the people. Among the Molossians, the royal house claimed descent from Achilles through Neoptolemos, and at the time of the Peloponnesian War the king, Tharyps, was the ally of Athens and strove to introduce Greek manners and culture into Epeiros.⁴ But Epeiros did not take its place among the Greek States until the IIIrd century.

¹ Ephor., ap. Strabo, viii. 1. 3.

² *Il.*, xvi. 235; Arist., *Meteor.*, i. 352A-B.

³ Thuc., ii. 80.

⁴ Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 1; *Il.*, ii. 115.

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South of Epeiros, Acarnania and Ætolia were not much more Hellenized. Acarnania is a country of limestone plateaus. The whole coast-land of the Ionian Sea is better watered than that of the Ægean; Corfu receives almost three times as much rain as Athens. But the water soaks in at once, and the plateau remains absolutely dry. As in all Karst countries, there are depressions in the surface; in these there is enough vegetable mould for corn-growing, and water is found, and it was in these that the population collected. The situation of Tyrrheion is explained by the presence of two copious springs and a circle of cultivable depressions at the foot of the hill on which the town was built. The coast is hardly favourable to navigation. On the west, the mountain ranges rise sheer from the sea. In the south, the silt of the Acheloos spreads over a low, swampy shore, and has sanded up the harbour of Cœniadæ and joined the Echinades Islands to the mainland.¹

Although Ætolia belongs to the same mountain system, it is quite different. It is a country of mountains, forests, and running waters, more Alpine than Mediterranean in appearance. The mountains run roughly north and south, in regular ridges in which broad bands of limestone and more friable bands of flysch alternate. They were once wooded all over—and they still are in part—with oaks, chestnuts, and planes in the lower districts and firs and pines on the heights. The rainfall is fairly plentiful, and the presence of the forests makes the watercourses regular, so that we find not only torrents, but true streams. The Acheloos is one of the few watercourses in Greece which, by its volume, deserves the name of river; in spite of the force of the current, boats could go up as far as Stratos.² The streams, especially those flowing over flysch, have dug deeply embanked gorges. The valleys consist of strings of little basins, separated by barriers of rock through which the water carves its way with difficulty. They are an obstacle to movement; the paths follow the crests rather than the valley bottoms, and, instead of running along a watercourse, cross the ridge from one valley to another. So Ætolia is a land of difficult communications. For that reason it is almost unassailable. No

¹ Hdt., ii. 10; Thuc., ii. 102; Strabo, i. 3. 18; x. 2. 20.

² Thuc., iii. 7; Strabo, x. 2. 2.

army could cross it without the consent of the Ætolians.¹ In 426 Demosthenes and the Athenians learned to their cost the difficulties of guerilla warfare in wooded, broken country.² In 389 Agesilaos and the Spartans met the same difficulties in Acarnania.³

In Ætolia and Acarnania the population was Greek, but was mixed with Illyrian elements. Euripides calls the Ætolian Tydeus a half-barbarian, *μξοβάρβαρος*. The country was cut up into little communities, isolated one from another, and isolated from the rest of the Greek world. So manners had remained primitive and savage. When Thucydides wishes to give an idea of Greek life in early times, he describes, as a survival, that of the Ætolians and Acarnanians. They dwelled in unfortified, widely scattered towns.⁴ Like the Illyrians,⁵ they lived on brigandage and rapine.⁶ Ever ready to attack or to be attacked, they constantly carried arms;⁷ and these were light arms,⁸ which made them more like barbarians than Greeks.⁹ Their language, too, suggested barbarians; their dialect, no doubt mixed with Illyrian, was hard for an Athenian to understand.¹⁰ They seemed so lacking in any kind of civilization that some of their tribes were believed to live on raw meat.¹¹

Northern Ætolia in particular had this savage character. Civilization could develop only in the plain in the centre of which Lake Trichonis lies. This was a less mountainous region, capable of cultivation, and above all it was in communication with the sea, and by the sea could receive Greek influences. In the south the chief town was Naupactos, a Locrian city, which served as a base for the Athenians from the day when they established there the Messenians driven from the Peloponnese.¹² But Naupactos was not in direct communication with Ætolia; the roads from the city ran to Amphissa and Delphi,¹³ or east of Mount Corax to Hypata and the Spercheios valley.¹⁴ The plain of Lake Trichonis had, therefore, less connexion with the Gulf of Corinth than with the Gulf of Ambracia. On this side the road crossed

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 6. 14.

² Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 6. 7-11.

³ Schol. on Ar., *Birds*, 1521.

⁴ Thuc., i. 5.

⁵ Eur., *Phæn.*, 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 101-2.

⁸ Thuc., iii. 97-8.

⁹ Thuc., iii. 94.

¹⁰ Thuc., i. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii. 94.

¹² Thuc., iii. 94.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i. 103.

¹⁴ *XL, xxxi* (1907), pp. 303 ff.

the Acheloos at the point where the river splits into several branches, and the crossing was so important that strongholds rose on the two banks to command it, Agrinion in Ætolia and Stratos in Acarnania. Thence the road, profiting by a depression containing small lakes, reached the Gulf of Ambracia. Here were Anactorion and Ambracia, the flourishing colonies of Corinth and Coreyra, and it was here that Greek influences came in with Corinthian trade.

The religious centre of Ætolia seems to have been, from the VIth century, the sanctuary of Apollo Thermios, and it was on this account that Thermos was later made the federal capital of the Ætolians. The temple was rebuilt in the VIth century on the site of a much older building. It still reproduced the most archaic type, with its walls of sun-baked brick on a stone foundation, its wooden colonnade and entablature, and its decoration in painted terra-cotta.¹ Before the paintings of the metopes one instantly thinks of Corinth. Indeed, what we have here is simply the application of vase-painting to architectural ornament, a kind of enlargement of the subjects which adorn the great Corinthian craters. And, since Corinthian vase-painting was itself only a copy of large-scale painting, the metopes of Thermos probably give us the best idea of what the work of Cleanthes, Ecphantos, and Aregon must have been.²

However this may be, Acarnania and Ætolia remained, in classical times, rather outside the Greek world. The Acarnanians and Ætolians were involved in the Peloponnesian War, but this was because they were dragged in by the neighbouring colonies—Naupactos and Ambracia—which supported Athens and Sparta respectively.³ Ætolia must wait until the IIIrd century before she would play a notable part in Greek politics.

2. THESSALY

Like Ætolia and Acarnania in the west, Thessaly stood in the north on the confines of the Greek world. The history of early Thessaly is wrapped in obscurity. Archæological finds show the succession and development of nameless civilizations. Ethnology, for lack of cranial measurements, must

¹ **XXVIII**, 1900, pp. 161 ff.; 1903, pp. 71 ff.

² **L**, ii, p. 457. ³ Thuc., ii. 80-2; ii. 9.

rest content with gleaning a few scanty indications on funeral practices, and can supply no solid basis.¹ The traditions and legends are of very doubtful interpretation. We must abide by the most probable general data, and not forget that our reconstructions are hypothetical.

In the Neolithic period a single civilization, to which a uniform pottery bears witness, extended over the whole of northern Greece, from the district of Orchomenos to the borders of Macedonia. Thessaly, more wooded than to-day and therefore less accessible, was long occupied by purely pastoral populations.² These were probably Pelasgians. When, for example, we find indecent figurines in the strata of the earliest Thessalian culture, we cannot fail to remember that, according to Herodotos,³ it was from the Pelasgians that the Greeks had taken the type of the ithyphallic herm.

Situated outside the two metal-using regions, the Ægean south and the Hellenic north,⁴ the herdsmen of Thessaly would perhaps have never come out of their backward civilization, if new peoples had not arrived with a higher culture. About the middle of the second millennium, the first body of the Hellenes entered Thessaly. Covered in bronze armour, the Achæans easily disposed of the natives. The Greek legends were to preserve the memory of successes won over peoples so savage that they could only be regarded as half-beasts; the race of Centaurs, vanquished by the Lapiths, takes refuge in the hills and forests. The Achæan occupation left a deep impression. Homer—and Aristarchos has noted the fact⁵—knows no other Hellas than Phthiotis.⁶ It is there that the great Achæan heroes reign. The Hellenes are the subjects of Achilles, and the “plain”⁷ over which Agamemnon rules, “horse-breeding Argos,”⁸ was no doubt the Pelasgian Argos, of which Larissa is the centre, until the descent of the Achæans southwards transported their legends to the Argos in the Peloponnese.⁹ The Achæans might leave the country, some being driven into central Greece, others reaching Æolis by sea; at least the Hellenic gods, who had come from Dodone to settle on Olympos, would nevermore leave that high abode.

¹ *XCII*, p. 250.

⁴ *XCII*, p. 249.

⁷ Strabo, viii. 6. 9.

² *XCII*, pp. 242, 249.

⁵ On *Il.*, ix, 395.

⁸ *Il.*, ii. 287.

³ *Hdt.*, iii. 51.

⁶ *Il.*, ii. 681–5.

⁹ *CXVIII*, p. 29.

Then came the Dorians. Hard pressed by the Epeirots,¹ the Thessali and the Histiaei took possession of the regions which would be called, after their invaders, Thessaliotis and Histiaotis. Archæological finds testify to the arrival in the Spercheios valley, through the gorges of Tymphrestos, of peoples still barely civilized, who brought with them iron and Geometric vase-decoration.² These are just the characteristics which are supposed to mark the Dorians. Driven out by the new-comers, some of the old inhabitants sought a refuge either in Bœotia or beyond the sea. But most of them stayed in the country. The invaders were few, and let themselves be absorbed by the natives. They adopted their language; the Thessalian dialects belong to the same group as those of Bœotia and of Æolis in Asia,³ and, although the few features which they have in common with the Western dialects show that there was contact, they do not permit us to speak of a real influence of the Doric dialects.⁴

By its population, therefore, Thessaly was certainly a Greek country. And yet, in classical times, it seems to have remained outside Greece. The difference lay in the geography of the land itself.

Thessaly is a flat country. The lakes of geological times have emptied through breaks like the Vale of Tempe; there are still considerable remnants of them, but almost everywhere the bottoms have dried, and form plains. These plains are encircled by the mountains. The chains run close along the shore, and shut the interior off from the sea, so that it is a continental country. The barrier is broken only by the deep indentation of the Pagasetic Gulf; this was the only place where ports could be established—Iolcos in heroic times and Pagasæ in classical times. The Thessalians were a people of landmen, and that alone was enough to make a profound difference between them and the other Greeks. Moreover, the mountains of the coast are an obstacle to the influences of the sea; and so the climate tends towards a continental type. The mean annual temperature is not perceptibly lower than that of the other regions, but the variations are much more marked. Trikkala has a mean of 5° cent. in January, and 27° in July. In summer, parching winds dry the ground and raise dust-devils. In winter, the

¹ Hdt., vii. 176. ² CXII, p. 255. ³ XLV, p. 92. ⁴ XLV, p. 111.

cold is so severe as to make olive-growing quite impossible. Only on the seaward slopes of Pelion and Ossa do the fruit-trees thrive and recall the orchards of the Mediterranean.

So Thessaly was less like a Mediterranean country than the steppes of Rumania or southern Russia. It was a land of corn, one of the domains consecrated to the legend and the worship of Demeter. Its fertility was celebrated;¹ the wheat grew with such strength that the tops of the tallest stalks had to be cut off, lest it should all run to leaf.² Corn was the chief article of Thessalian trade; it was exported by Pagasæ,³ and enriched the Thessalian customs.⁴ Attica, buying foreign corn, was contrasted with Thessaly, which sold its corn abroad.⁵ When the harvest was in, the plain was given over to cattle, sheep, and, above all, horses. Thessaly was one of the few Greek countries in which conditions were favourable to horse-breeding, and so it alone possessed a cavalry capable of playing a part in time of war.

Thessaly, then, was a farming country, where there was no other activity than rural occupations, and no wealth but landed property. Hence the character of Thessalian society. The land was worked by a class of serfs, the Penestæ. These Penestæ were descendants of the conquered populations, and held a position intermediate between slaves and free men. They were attached to the soil, but they could be neither sold nor slain. They tilled the land for the owner, to whom they paid an agreed return, but, once this rent was paid, they had the disposal of the rest of the harvest, and they might become richer than their masters.⁶ Their superiority over slaves was clearly marked by the fact that they could bear arms, manned ships,⁷ and even served in the essentially aristocratic troops—the cavalry.⁸ We find this class of serfs in the countries occupied by the Dorians, who were themselves an aristocratic, warrior class, unwilling to work the land themselves; but the survival of the system was due to the agricultural character of these countries and to the nature of property, which, by the old family law, could not be divided into small parcels.

¹ Thuc., i. 2.

³ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 4. 56.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 1. 11.

⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 1. 11.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 7. 4.

⁴ Dem., *Olynth.*, i. 22.

⁶ Ath., vi. 264B.

⁸ Dem., *Arist.*, 199; *Syntax.*, 23.

Over the Penestæ were the noble families, who based their power on the possession of the soil. They owned estates of such extent that one big proprietor could place at the disposal of Athens 300 troopers raised on his land.¹ In the work of the land, the Thessalian nobles took no interest except in horse-breeding; their racing-stables won them crowns at the great games. They surrounded themselves with a swarm of dependents and lived in grand style. Their hospitality was lavish and rather ostentatious. The Aleuads of Larissa entertained Pindar, Hippocrates, and Gorgias. In the IVth century, Polydamas of Pharsalos was rich enough to advance to the State the money required for the public services, and showed "true Thessalian hospitality and magnificence."² It was these great families which governed the cities and founded ruling lines there, the Aleuads at Larissa, the Scopads at Crannon.

The cities of Thessaly, Pharsalos, Crannon, Larissa, and Pheræ, were of equal strength, and none of them could hope to bring about the unification of the country to its own profit. The political division appears in the diversity of speech; Thessaly never had a common official dialect, but there were two groups of local dialects, that of Thessaliotis in the south-west and that of Pelasgiotis in the north-east.³ Failing a unified State, there was room in Thessaly for a confederation of cities. The federal movement seems to have started from Thessaliotis, which extended its name to the whole "Thessalian" League. Aleuas the Red, the ruler of Larissa, was said to have formed a confederation, in the VIIth century, of the four cantons—Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Histiaotis, and Phthiotis.⁴ At the head of the league stood a *tagos*, taken from among the noble families and appointed for life. He was above all a military chief, who had the supreme command of the army and was assisted by the four tetrarchs, each commanding the contingents of a canton. Even after Scopas of Crannon had, in the first half of the VIth century, strengthened the organization of the league, the federal ties remained very loose, and the cities kept their autonomy.

¹ Dem., *Arist.*, 199.

² Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 1. 3.

³ *XLV*, pp. 92-3.

⁴ Harp., Suid., s.v. *Τετραρχία*; Plut., *Mor.*, 492B.

In the VIth century the Thessalian League was powerful in northern Greece. It extended its sway over the hillmen of the neighbourhood,¹ the Magnetes of Pelion and Ossa,² the Perrhæbi of the Cambunian Mountains,³ the Dolopians of Tymphrestos, the Malians and the Ænianians of Cete.⁴ The small subject peoples paid tribute and furnished troops. With the votes of these peoples at her disposal, Thessaly had the majority on the Amphictiony of Thermopylæ; she availed herself of it to extend her influence in central Greece. She took part in the Sacred War to deliver Delphi from the tyranny of its neighbours of Crissa;⁵ she intervened in the war between Chalcis and Eretria;⁶ she imposed her supremacy on Phocis and even sought to subdue Bœotia. But the power of the Thessalians was short-lived. Defeated by the Bœotians and repulsed by the Phocians,⁷ they were back in their own country at the beginning of the Vth century. At the time of the Persian Wars they again seemed so cut off from the rest of Greece that the Greek allies left them to their fate and at once withdrew their line of defence to the south of Thessaly.⁸

Thessaly was hardly more Greek than Ætolia and Acarnania; Socrates contrasts it, as a land of licence and disorder, with the cities "governed by good laws."⁹ It has produced no writer, thinker, or artist of merit. Like Ætolia and Acarnania, it was a border province, a march between Greece properly so called and the barbarian world. Its rôle from the earliest times seems to have been to protect southern Greece, with its Ægean and Mycenæan culture, against the more primitive but more vigorous tribes of the north.¹⁰ So, too, in classical times it stood between the Greek cities and Macedonia. But it also afforded a transition between the two regions. Through Thessaly the Achæans and Dorians came down into central Greece. In the IVth century Jason of Pheræ tried to effect the union of Thessaly and to bring it into the concert of Greek states. Thereby he provoked foreign interference which brought upon Thessaly the

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 1. 9.

² Thuc., iv. 78.

³ Strabo, ix. 3. 4; **XXXVII**, i, p. 337.

⁴ **XXXVII**, i, p. 339.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 172-4.

⁶ **XCII**, p. 249.

⁷ Thuc., ii. 101.

⁸ Thuc., iii. 93.

⁹ **XXXVII**, i, pp. 339-40.

¹⁰ Plato, *Crito*, 53D.

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Thebans of Pelopidas and the Macedonians of Philip. Just as the Achæans, by attaching Thessaly to the Mycenæan zone of influence, had prepared the way for the Dorian invasion, so Jason, by bringing the country into Greek politics, opened the road by which Philip would come to conquer Greece.

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL GREECE

1. PARNASSOS AND THE DELPHIC SANCTUARY

WHEN the climber reaches the top of Parnassos, 8,066 feet high, he can see, on a clear day, all Greece at his feet. On the horizon, Pindos rises in the north-west, Olympos in the north, and Athos in the north-east; beyond the Gulf of Corinth are the mountains of the Peloponnese, with the peak of Taygetos in the far distance; only in the west is the view limited by the higher summits of Corax. By its central position, its altitude, its forests and upland pastures, its running waters, and its caves draped with stalactites, Parnassos must have appeared to the Greeks as a wonder, the worthy abode of Dionysos and the Bacchants, of Pan and the Nymphs. "All Parnassos," says Strabo, "is holy."¹

But, though it is an imposing mass, it is no barrier to the passage of man. On all sides it is turned by roads;² on the north, the valley of the Bœotian Cephissos descends from Doris to Lake Copais; on the west, there is the road from Lamia by way of Amphissa to the Gulf of Crissa; on the south, roads run over the lesser heights joining Parnassos to Helicon. It was this disposition of ways of access, no less than the springs and volcanic exhalations, which attracted travellers and made the fame of the sanctuary of Delphi.³ From all sides gods and men came to Delphi, and the cult preserved traces of these successive arrivals. The first homage of the natives had gone to the gods of the earth and the waters, to Ge, to Poseidon, and to Python, the serpent of the chthonian cults. Then there came from Crete, with the mariners of Cnossos, Apollo of the Dolphin, patron of sailors, counsellor of explorers and emigrants. Apollo slew the Serpent, the young god supplanted the old gods, and Pytho became Delphi. Then came the Dorian invasion;

¹ Strabo, ix. 3. 1. ² See above, pp. 11-12. ³ Strabo, ix. 3. 6.

Heracles the Dorian strove to seize the prophetic tripod from Apollo the Ægean. Apollo was already too strong to give way, but he only kept his place by turning Dorian; the Pythia would always be suspected of pro-Spartanism. Lastly, from Thrace there came, at a date of which we cannot be certain, Dionysos whose "share at Delphi equals that of Apollo."¹ With him a half-barbaric fury comes to trouble the wholly Hellenic serenity of the Apollinian worship; the Pythia raves and shivers on the tripod; the Thyiads, howling, unkempt, fed on raw flesh, coil in whirling dance from the summits of Parnassos to the plain of Amphissa, and nothing can wake them from their hypnotic ecstasy.²

The Delphic cult, formed of these mixed elements, extended its influence over the whole Greek world, and even among the barbarians. When, in the second half of the VIth century, a subscription was opened to restore the temple after a fire, the King of Egypt, Amasis, and the King of Lydia, Cræsus, added their offerings to those of the Greeks of the mainland and the colonies.³ The Oracle of Delphi became a regulating element in the whole of Greek life. It played a political rôle; no city altered its laws, and no colony was founded, without previous consultation of the god. It had great moral authority; the maxims of the Seven Sages, inscribed on the walls of the temple, called the faithful to moderation and self-examination; the rites of purification, enjoined by the god for the shedding of blood, modified the legal conception of murder, and took into account circumstances which might excuse the crime. Lastly, Delphi was one of the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries which kept up the feeling of a Greek nationality; not only the Amphictions of central and northern Greece, but the whole Greek world, in the IVth century as in the VIth, collaborated in the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo.⁴

2. BŒOTIA

Across central Greece there runs a string of depressions, between two lines of mountains, Œte, Cnemis, and Ptoon on one side, and Parnassos, Helicon, Cithæron, and Parnes on

¹ Plut., *Mor.*, 388f.

³ Hdt., ii. 180; **XXXVI**, ii (2), p. 386.

² Plut., *Mor.*, 249E-F.

⁴ **XI**, xxvii (1903), pp. 5-41.

the other. The first compartment is formed by the upper valley of the Cephissos, and comprises two regions, Doris and Phocis; it ends in the defile which marked the frontier between the Phocians and the Bœotians. The Cephissos then enters the Bœotian depression, which is likewise divided into regions. First there is the basin of Chæroneia, the Cephissos valley down to Lake Copais, fertilized by the silt of the river; then comes the Thebes country, higher in the south, and lower in the north, where the Aonian and Teneric Plains spread a carpet of cultivation;¹ lastly, there is the basin of Tanagra, a hilly district, which opens on to the arm of the sea which, between Eubœa and the mainland, continues the series of depressions of central Greece. In these depressions communication with outside is difficult; they have all the characteristics of the closed plain—swamps with no outlet to the sea, *katavothrais*, and underground streams. In the centre lies Copais, fifteen miles by eight, with bays running into the mountains which bring the total surface up to about 140 square miles.

The mountain-ringed plain of Bœotia is rather like Thessaly, and, like Thessaly, the country presents at first sight a continental appearance. But Bœotia is not so shut off from the sea as Thessaly. It has three sea fronts of a kind, and Ephoros noted the advantage which the Bœotians had in being able to sail by the Gulf of Corinth to Italy, Sicily, and Africa, by the channel south of the Euripos to the islands, Cyprus, and Egypt, and by the channel north of the Euripos to Macedonia and the Propontis.² But he exaggerated the value of the coasts of central Greece. On the Gulf of Corinth, the mountains generally rise sheer from the water, and no port could be established in the indentations of the coast. On the Euripos channel, a small coast plain is squeezed between the hills and the sea, but, though there are some ways of access across the mountain chain, the ports only communicate with the interior with difficulty. The basin of Tanagra is the only real outlet of Bœotia to the sea. From Aulis Agamemnon's fleet sailed in mythical times, and that of Agesilaos in historical times.³ Oropos was the port by which goods reached both Bœotia and Attica; therefore both states fought for it.

¹ Strabo, ix. 2. 31, 34.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 2. 2.

³ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 4. 3.

While Bœotia was off the great sea-routes, it possessed the chief overland road. The coast route, by the Pass of Thermopylæ, might be preferred by Xerxes, who had to maintain contact between the fleet and the army. But the true road of the migrations and invasions ran through the depressions of central Greece; it came in by the defile guarded by the Trachinian Heracleia, and went out by the passes of Cithæron commanded by the Athenian forts. In these Bœotian plains, in which armies could be moved, fed, and deployed easily, the battle-fields are many. To mention only the chief among them, Plataea saw the encounter of Greeks and Persians in 479, Leuctra, that of Thebans and Spartans in 371, Chæroneia, that of Athenians and Macedonians in 338, and Orchomenos, that of Romans and Asiatics in 86. Bœotia was a tilting-ground where Greek and barbarian armies from all parts charged together, from the mythical days when the Seven came to besiege Thebes to the evening of Greek history when Sylla routed the soldiers of Mithridates.

Being a continental country, Bœotia, like Thessaly, has a harsher climate, with greater extremes, than the usual Greek climate. The heights of Cithæron and Parnes form a barrier to the south, which intercepts the warm winds which might blow from Attica, while the lower ranges on the Malis side let in the cold winds of the north. So the winter is very bad. Hesiod complains of the severe cold of Ascra.¹ The snow covers the plain for several days, and the frosts are so hard as to be a danger to the olives. The humidity of the marshes creates thick fogs which make it still colder. In summer the heat is torrid, and the springs and streams dwindle to nothing; in spite of the snow of Parnassos, which only finishes melting in June, the Cephissos is soon only a slender thread of water.

Bœotia was happier in its soil than in its climate. The ground was rich, and life was easy. There was plenty of game, especially water-fowl. The Bœotians who frequented the market of Athens brought hares, ducks, geese, ~~divers~~, and fat Copais eels, carefully laid in reed baskets.² Agriculture thrived. The mud of the plain and the alluvium of the valleys were choice land for corn. Orchomenos placed

¹ Hes., *W. & D.*, 640.

² *Ar., Ach.*, 874-80; *Peace*, 1003-5.

an ear of wheat on its coins. Bœotian wheat, which was particularly valued, was the heaviest kind, the bushel weighing over 70 lb.¹ At Thebes the athletes were content with a ration of one chœnix and a half of corn, whereas they needed two and a half in Athens.²

The Bœotian was a farmer. As a rule he worked his land himself, with the help of his family and a slave or two. It was in this way that, in the rough canton of Ascra, Hesiod's father managed, by patience and hard work, to make the land yield enough to keep him. The prevailing system was that of small property, especially in the mountain districts. Larger estates could only be formed in the plains. At Thebes the aristocracy of great land-owners and the people formed opposing classes; the former came to terms with the Persians, while the latter were for defending the national cause.³ But the great landlord worked his domain with slave labour; there were no serfs in Bœotia, attached to the soil like those in Thessaly or Laconia, probably because big properties were always the exception. The Bœotian peasant who worked his own farm loved his fields and country life; the Bœotian vases by Gamedes treat rustic subjects in a realistic spirit which shows a taste for the things of the earth rare in the Greek vase-painters.⁴ The Bœotian could conceive of no other occupation than agriculture; trade and industry were reduced in Bœotia to what was strictly necessary, and were indeed regarded as a servile and contemptible employment. At Thespiæ and Thebes, to ply a trade was considered unworthy of a citizen.⁵ At Thebes no merchant could take office within ten years of retiring from business.⁶

It would be interesting to see what the Bœotian peasant was like. It is all very well to say that the statues found in Bœotia are generally the work of foreign artists, or at least of native artists inspired by foreign models,⁷ and that in any case they are not supposed to be portraits. We are, nevertheless, tempted to picture the Bœotian according to the "Apollon" of Ptoon. Should we not recognize a peasant of Acræphiæ in this fellow, the brother of the Apollo of

¹ Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 4. 5; *C. P.*, iv. 9. 5; Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii. 63.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 4. 5.

³ Thuc., iii. 62.

⁴ *XXIX*, s.v. *Vasa*, p. 643.

⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 4. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 3. 4.

⁷ *XI*, xxxi (1907), p. 207.

Orchomenos,¹ with his square face, wide-slit mouth, thick neck, sturdy build, and great thighs? Or might we not equally well see him in this other,² with his full face, his fat, round cheeks, his thin, slightly smiling lips, and the expression of a countryman who is fond of his dinner and is cheered by the thought of a good harvest? Failing a physical portrait, can we get a true moral portrait? For that, we must not listen to what the Athenians say. They declare that the Bœotian is thick, coarse, and stupid, because, they say, he eats in such a greedy way.³ Need we say that this portrait is a caricature, drawn by malicious neighbours? The Bœotian peasant may not, of course, have had the bright wits of the Cerameicos craftsman or the Peiræus sailor, but he cannot have been very unlike the peasant of Acharnæ.

No less than the other Greek countries, Bœotia had illustrious sons. It might be proud—for different reasons—of having produced Epaminondas of Thebes, whom antiquity made the ideal type of Greek statesman,⁴ and Phryne of Thespiæ, who was so beautiful that Praxiteles deemed her worthy to stand as model for Aphrodite.⁵ Least of all can we forget the share of the Bœotians in literature and art. Hesiod of Ascra, Pindar of Thebes, Corinna of Tanagra represent poetry honourably. There is no such illustrious name in art. The Bœotian sculptors lack originality, and the architects of Thebes could not give their Cadmeia an entrance comparable to the Propylæa.⁶ But at least the vase-painters, and still more the modellers of figurines, give evidence of artistic qualities in the Bœotian people; for the general public "Tanagra" still means naturalness and distinction in the art of the statuette.

3. THE PEOPLES AND CITIES OF BŒOTIA

The depression of central Greece has geographical unity; it is not surprising that it originally had ethnological unity.⁷ By the passes of Œte, the valley of the Spercheios, and the passes of Othrys, contact was effected with Thessaly, and in

¹ *XI*, x (1886), pl. iv.

² *XI*, xxxi (1907), pl. xix.

³ *Plut.*, *Mor.*, 995E; cf. *Ath.*, x. 417B-418B.

⁴ *Cic.*, *Tusc.*, i. 2. 4.

⁵ *Ath.*, xiii. 591A.

⁶ *Æschin.*, *Emb.*, 276.

⁷ *XII*, xxv (1912), p. 259.

Neolithic times, as we have seen, a single civilization reigned over the whole of central and northern Greece. Then the region became divided on the line of Othrys. While Thessaly remained stationary and half-savage, Bœotia developed under influences from the south. These influences, no doubt, were at first slight. While the mass of the people knew only the old Neolithic civilization, round wattle-and-daub huts and clumsy pottery with geometrical ornament, the princes, attracted by the splendour of the Ægean world, adorned their palace with products of the art of the islands. In Phocis, by the side of common Neolithic objects, the tomb of a woman—apparently a chief's wife—contained vases and gold ear-rings, the work of Ægean artists or of natives trained in the school of Ægean industry.¹ The legend of Cadmos, whom it is very hard to take for a Phœnician, symbolizes at least the arrival of maritime civilizations.

The ancients believed that the country had been occupied in prehistoric times by the Minyan people, which had stretched as far as Thessaly, before concentrating in Bœotia round Orchomenos. To them the first works of civilization were attributed, the cultivation of the plain and the drainage operations.² The Minyans seem to have been a pre-Hellenic people, but to have been transformed under the influence of the sailors of the south and the conquerors of the north. There, as elsewhere, the Achæans mingled with the original population. They have left clear traces of their occupation; the palaces of the Cadmeia³ and of the island of Gla⁴ and the domed tomb called the "Treasury of Minyas"⁵ are certainly Mycenæan monuments. At Orchomenos, the Minyan capital, over a Neolithic city, Mycenæan dwellings were built, which can be recognized by fragments of mural paintings which have been found.⁶ Between the Mycenæan stratum and that immediately below there are such differences that we must suppose that new, foreign populations settled there between one age and the other. We should be tempted to see here the substitution of Achæans for Minyans, but it is really impossible to attribute any given archæological stratum to the Minyans with certainty,⁷ and still more is it

¹ XII, xxv (1912), p. 254; XVII, xxxi (1906), p. 402; XXVIII, 1908, p. 94.

² Map in XCVII.

³ XXVIII, 1909, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ XI, xviii (1894), p. 271.

⁵ XLVII, pp. 434 ff.

⁶ XCVI, p. 71.

⁷ XCVI, p. 53.

impossible to establish a certain distinction between Minyans and Achæo-Mycenæans.

The movement created by the Dorian invasion spread to Bœotia. The Thessalians, settling in Thessaliotis, drove the previous occupants southwards. These latter descended into Bœotia, and were soon followed by the Dorian invaders; it is very difficult to say whether the Bœotian tribe which gave its name to the country was Achæan or Dorian. We have echoes of the struggles between conquerors and natives; the Dorian Heracles destroys Minyan Orchomenos by blocking the *katavothrais* of Copais. But, as in Thessaly, the Dorians seem to have come in bands too small to extirpate the native populations. On the contrary, they let themselves be absorbed, and did not keep their language. The Bœotian dialect is not Doric, but akin to Thessalian. In Bœotian pottery the Geometric style, which is generally supposed to be a Dorian creation, seems to have come from the south, and to be inspired by the geometrical ornament of the Cyclades.¹

Thus the population of classical Bœotia is a mixture of pre-Hellenic and Hellenic peoples, in which it is very hard to trace the contribution of each. This population attained a real unity, which appears clearly in the language. Whereas in Thessaly the dialects remained different, in Bœotia the local forms of speech, except for some minor peculiarities, were blended to form a common language. The official inscriptions of all the Bœotian cities are drafted in this common Bœotian, which is easily recognized by its singular spelling.²

Yet Bœotia never achieved political unity. Some will explain this fact by the way the country was divided up into depressions connected only by gorges. But this division nowhere prevented intercourse. On the contrary, Bœotia was a network of roads, which should have made it easy to create a centralized state. But the Bœotian cities were too equal in strength. Some owed their importance to their command of roads, such as Onchestos, Haliartos, and Alalcomenæ, between the depression of Thebes and Lake Copais; others to the fact that they overlooked plains. But, in spite of the fertility of the soil, none of these plains was cultivated

¹ **XL**, xxxv (1911), p. 390.

² **XLV**, p. 93.

over a sufficient area to serve as the seat of a great power. No city, therefore, was so clearly superior to its neighbours that it could enforce its will and effect the union of the district in its own interest.

So the political form adopted by Bœotia was that of a confederacy. Round the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Onchestos, which is already mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*,¹ and of Athene Itonia at Coroneia,² the Bœotian cities formed a league which held the feast of the Panbœotia in common.³ At the head of the league were the Bœotarchs,⁴ elected by each city, who, in time of war, took the chief command of the army composed of the contingents of the allies.⁵ The unity of the league was expressed in the federal coinage. In the first half of the VIth century the Bœotian coins bore the shield, the emblem of the confederacy, without anything to indicate particular towns; Orchomenos alone had its own coins. In the second half of the century, by the side of the federal arms, the initials of the federate cities appeared—a very feeble demonstration of the particularist spirit.

Yet this spirit existed, and the federal organization did not prevent conflicts between the cities. At an early date one of them aspired to the first place—Thebes. Established in a good military position, which was secured by the fortress of the Cadmeia, this city commanded the largest and most easily cultivated plain. But she encountered opposition, and was not strong enough to break it. On the north she had a rival of equal power, Orchomenos, on the rocky spur of Acontion, between the lower Cephissos and the neighbouring marshes of Copais, commanding the plain of Chæroneia. The legends placed the first wars of Thebes and Orchomenos in mythical times, and although, at moments, peace was maintained by an agreement between the aristocrats of the two cities, the rivals were usually divided by inexpiable strife. In the other direction, Thebes met the hostility of the places which looked towards Attica. By the passes of Cithæron communications were easy between southern Bœotia and the Plain of Eleusis. The hill cantons, Hysia and Eleutheræ, broke away from Bœotia and attached themselves

¹ *Il.*, ii. 506; Paus., ix. 26. 5; Strabo, ix. 2. 33.

² Paus., ix. 34. 1.

⁴ Hdt., ix. 15; Thuc., iv. 91.

³ Strabo, ix. 2. 29.

⁵ Thuc., iv. 93.

to the State of Athens.¹ Platæa, too, though it remained Bœotian, looked towards Athens. At the end of the VIth century it wished to detach itself from the league, and obtained the help of the Athenians against Thebes.² Thenceforward it followed a different policy from that of the other Bœotian cities; it sent troops to fight at Marathon by the side of the Athenian hoplites, and was almost alone in Bœotia in refusing to submit to Xerxes. The Thebans pursued Platæa with even greater bitterness than Orchomenos, and its history was one long succession of catastrophes and tragedies.³

Thus the internal history of Bœotia is one of incessant strife between cities. In that country, where there was real geographical unity, where the races were blended in a homogeneous population, speaking the same language, where natural conditions had almost imposed a uniform type of life—in a country, therefore, which seemed made for unity—city rivalries kept war almost constantly alive,⁴ and impeded the development of the towns. Some have seen, in the attempts of Thebes to effect unity, the origin of the inferiority and misfortunes of Bœotia.⁵

¹ Paus., ix. 2. 1; i. 38. 8.

² Hdt., vi. 108; Thuc., iii. 55, 68.

³ Paus., ix. 1. 3-8.

⁴ Arist., *Rhet.*, iii. 4. 3.

⁵ *XL*, i, p. 65.

CHAPTER IV

THE PELOPONNESE

1. THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS

WHEN we look at Greece as a whole, the Peloponnese presents a very clearly marked geographical individuality. Connected with the continent by a narrow, low isthmus—four miles wide and 260 feet high at the maximum—it is, as the Greeks said, more an island than a peninsula.

The Peloponnese is a complex mountain region. The folds which are to be observed there belong to the different systems of the *Ægeid*. The Argolic peninsula forms part of the eastern folded zone; the coastal chain of Messenia is a piece of the western folded zone; the central chains are the end of a great arc which runs through Crete and forms the southern *Ægean* system. The peninsula owes its landscape and its plan more to breaks and subsidences than to these folds—to the great fault along the Ionian Sea in the west, to the series of fractures which formed the Corinthian Gulf in the north, to the sea trenches into which the mountain folds suddenly disappear in the south, and, in the east, to the dislocations which dug the Saronic Gulf and awakened a volcanic activity to which the hot springs of Methana and the sulphur-pits of the Isthmus still bear witness.

Local subsidences have thus broken the outline and created depressions in the interior of the Peloponnese so that it is divided into more or less isolated compartments. In the centre is the plateau of Arcadia, high plains ringed by mountains. The surrounding ranges are prolonged southwards until they terminate in capes, and the depressions between them consist of alluvial plains, continued by gulfs of the sea. The great indentations of the coast led the ancients to compare the Peloponnese to a plane-leaf.¹ Thus the Peloponnese is like a small continent, reproducing all the

¹ Strabo, viii. 2. 1.

characteristics of Greece. It has the same wealth of outline, horizontal and vertical, the same interpenetration of land and sea, and, with slight local differences, the same climate, the same vegetation, and the same forms of cultivation.

Just as the Peloponnese combines within itself all the physical features of the Greek world, so the Peloponnesian population presents specimens of all the human groups which met and mingled to form the Greek people. The memory of the pre-Hellenic peoples, whom we have called Pelasgians, was preserved in the legends. Pelasgos, the eponymous hero of the race, had, no doubt, extended his sway from the Peloponnese to the Strymon, but his residence had been Argos,¹ and it was he who had civilized the first inhabitants of Arcadia.² The original inhabitants received the germs of civilization from outside. We may have doubts about the Egyptian influence symbolized by Danaos, but it is certain that the Ægeans were in contact with the Peloponnese, and spread their brilliant culture among peoples who were still at the stage of stone tools.

The arrival of the Hellenes drove back the native inhabitants into the central retreat of Arcadia, which was regarded in later times as half-Pelasgian, and the new-comers, mingling with the old inhabitants in various proportions, founded the Mycenæan states. These were the kingdoms of Agamemnon, Menelaos, and Nestor. Cities arose, in which Ægean traditions were carried on, Mycenæ and Tiryns in Argolis, Amyclæ in Laconia, Pylos in Messenia. These cities, planted in gorges or on rocky heights commanding roads, and defying attack behind their massive walls, grew rich on the tolls which they took from the caravans which preferred the shortest overland routes. The finds from the Mycenæan graves have fully borne out the Homeric epithet, *πολύχρυσος Μυκῆνη*.³

The Achæans were followed by the Dorians. The traditions which related the return of the Heracleidæ, driven out of Argos by Eurystheus long before, recorded the stages of the invasion. It was said that an earlier attempt, by the Isthmus, was checked at the entrance to the Peloponnese.

¹ Æsch., *Suppl.*, 250.

² Paus., viii. 1, 4-6; Schol. on Eur., *Or.*, 1646.

³ *Il.*, xi. 46.

A second undertaking was more successful; the Dorians, combining with the Ætolians, crossed the Gulf of Corinth in the west, and spread from Elis over the whole country. From these legendary tales it is impossible to obtain anything but the vaguest indications; it would be very rash to ascribe historical value to them. But, if we do not know the details of the migrations, we perceive their results. As on the arrival of the Achæans, the earlier settlers took refuge in the central plateaus and there maintained themselves, while the surrounding valleys were occupied by the invaders. The Mycenæan cities were succeeded by Dorian cities; Mycenæ and Tiryns gave place to Argos, Amyclæ to Sparta, Pylos to Stenyclaros. The Peloponnese of classical times was the chief Dorian country; it was at the Isthmus of Corinth that Theseus was said to have set up the frontier post between the Ionian and Dorian worlds.¹

In spite of the predominance of the Dorian element, which was further established when Sparta extended her hegemony over the neighbouring states, the Peloponnese was never to form a political unity. The ancients distinguished five regions, of which three only were Dorian, a fourth being occupied by the Achæans and the other by the Arcadians and Eleians.² This diversity appears in the dialects. The language spoken in Achæa was that of the inhabitants previous to the Dorian invasion, the common Achæan language. Eleian was attached to the North-western group of dialects; its kinship with Ætolian agrees with the legends of the Ætolian invasion of Elis. Even the Dorian dialects never constituted a common language. Each group of Dorians, living apart in its own domain, where it was sufficient to itself and lived for itself without entering into relations with the neighbouring groups, kept its local speech. Arguments from language do not prove the unity of the Dorian world; on the contrary, it is the general history of the Dorians which has made it possible to infer unity of dialect.³

In spite of common features and preponderant influences, the unity of the Peloponnese is only apparent and superficial. Here, as in the rest of Greece, we must take each

¹ Plut., *Thes.*, 25.

² Thuc., i. 10; Paus., v. 1. 1.

³ **XLV**, p. 104.

region separately, with its geographical features, its population, and its historical evolution.

2. CORINTH

At the very entrance of the peninsula stood the most powerful of the Peloponnesian cities, next to Sparta, and the richest and most populous of all, Corinth. She owed her fortune to her position on the intersection of land and sea routes. That used earliest was the land road, which ran from mainland Greece to peninsular Greece by the Isthmus; the city which commanded it was bound to become a great centre of trade in the days when the Greeks did their business more by land than by sea.¹ But soon the sea-routes opened new prospects to Corinth. Situated a little over a mile from the sea, at the foot of the steep rock which bore the citadel, the city was in reach of two gulfs, of which one, the Corinthian Gulf, led to the Ionian Sea and to Italy and Sicily, while the other, the Saronic Gulf, was the starting-point of all the routes which, by the Ægean, led to Egypt, the East, and the countries of the Euxine. On either side the Corinthians built an artificial harbour. On the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, which was fully exposed to the west winds, the harbour of Lechæon had been dug in the shore, and the port was connected with Corinth by long walls. On the Saronic Gulf, the port of Cenchreæ was protected by two moles which embraced a surface of about ten acres. The distance between the two ports was so small that the two sea-routes practically formed one single route. In order not to have to sail round the Peloponnese (a distance reckoned at 5,600 stades),² and to avoid waters with a bad name, like those about Cape Malea,³ the ship-owners preferred, here as in many other places, to unload and to tranship their goods across the Isthmus. The distance was so short that the idea of connecting the two seas was bound to suggest itself. The tyrant Periandros, it was said, was the first to think of cutting a canal through the Isthmus. But such an undertaking was regarded as impious. The Pythia had forbidden the Cnidians to cut their isthmus, saying that if Zeus had wanted their country to be an island he would have made

¹ Thuc., i. 13.

² Strabo, viii. 2. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 6. 20.

it one.¹ It was probably religious scruples rather than material difficulties which caused the project to be abandoned. At least, failing a canal, a road was fitted up, the *δίολκος*, at the narrowest part, over which vessels of small tonnage were carried by means of machines.²

The position of the city explains sufficiently why the site should have been occupied at a very early date. The very name, with its characteristic termination *ινθος*, points to a pre-Hellenic origin. To native peoples, who are unknown to us, civilization came from the islands and perhaps from the East. Corinth seems to have undergone Eastern influences several times. In the Corinthian cults Hellenic and Oriental elements were mingled. In the sanctuary of the Isthmus, where the Isthmian Games were held every two years, in spring, worship was paid to the Greek Poseidon, and, by his side, to a sea hero, Melicertes, in whom the supporters of Phœnician influence would see the Melkarth of Tyre. In the city, the chief temple, erected in the first half of the VIth century, was consecrated to a Hellenic god, Apollo. But the Aphrodite worshipped on Acrocorinth was a foreigner. Her cult was served by over ten thousand courtesans, dedicated to the goddess by the piety of the faithful.³ When Xenophon of Corinth won the foot-race and the pentathlon, he fulfilled the vow which he had taken to bring to Aphrodite a troop of a hundred courtesans.⁴ The courtesans of Corinth were recognized priestesses of Aphrodite, and held an official position in the city; when the State wished to offer prayers or thanksgiving to the goddess, it entrusted them to the courtesans, who went in procession to the sanctuary in as great numbers as possible. It was they who, at the time of the Persian Wars, came officially to pray to Aphrodite for the safety of Greece.⁵ This religious prostitution reveals the Oriental origin of the Corinthian Aphrodite. Just as Melicertes has been connected with Melkarth of Tyre, so Aphrodite has been identified with Astarte of Sidon. No doubt we should go back still further. Is not Aphrodite-Astarte the great female deity whose cult, no doubt of Babylonian origin,

¹ Hdt., i. 174; Paus., ii. 1. 5.

² Strabo, viii. 2. 1; Ar., *Thesm.*, 647-8.

³ Strabo, viii. 6. 20, 22.

⁴ Pind., *Ol.*, xiii; fr. 122; Ath., xiii. 573E-574B.

⁵ Ath., xiii. 573D-E.

was spread all over Nearer Asia by the Hittites?¹ The hypothesis is the more attractive because it is to the Hittites that the suffix *ινθος*, *inda*, *indos*, more Asiatic than European, has been attributed.²

Over the pre-Hellenic population various Hellenic peoples established themselves. The legends reflect the vicissitudes through which the city passed; in Achæan times Corinth is attached to the empire of Agamemnon,³ and then Aletas the Heracleid, coming from Argolis, takes possession of it and makes it an independent State. But, Hellenes or no, all the ethnical elements blend to form a composite population. For Homer,⁴ as for Thucydides,⁵ the basis of the population is Æolian, that is to say, of mixed blood. In Corinth the Dorian element is in no way predominant. No doubt the Corinthian dialect is attached to the Doric dialects; the alphabet is quite peculiar, and probably very ancient. But economically and politically Corinth was utterly foreign to the Dorian spirit. It was a cosmopolitan town, a city of business and pleasure, resembling not the Dorian Sparta, but the great Ionian cities, Miletos or Ephesos.

Like all Greek cities, Corinth was at first ruled by kings, and, as everywhere else, monarchy was superseded by aristocratic government. The annual magistrates, the Prytaneis, were taken exclusively from the great families. These noble families practically formed one single family, for the Bacchiads only married among themselves, and were all united by blood. But the aristocracy of the Bacchiads was quite different from other Greek aristocracies. Elsewhere the characteristic of the old families was that they kept the old rules of family ownership intact, and so maintained a system of large estates in their own interest. Landed property and aristocracy were one and the same thing, and even when the aristocrats chose to increase their wealth by other means they still preserved their character of great landlords; the Hippobotæ of Chalcis might take part in colonization and overseas trade, but they remained, above all, "breeders of horses," men whose vast estates enabled them to keep a stable, the undisputed sign of noble birth.⁶

¹ Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 355; **XXXIV**, i (2), p. 726.

² **LXXXI**, pp. 152 ff.

³ *Il.*, ii. 570.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 154.

⁵ *Thuc.*, iv. 42.

⁶ *Arist., Pol.*, vi. 4. 3.

There was nothing like this at Corinth. The stony soil of Corinthia was proverbially poor,¹ and agriculture was further handicapped by the violent winds which swept the Isthmus. Wealth in land was unknown there. The Bacchiads founded their power on movable wealth ; they were an aristocracy of merchants and ship-owners.

There were no great landlords in Corinth. Nor were there any peasants living on their farm in a state equally removed from luxury and misery, a middle class which in city life represents a moderate policy and a conservative spirit. Over against the rich stood the people, a population of sailors and craftsmen, poor citizens and resident aliens, all men of open mind, who had travelled far, seen much, and learned much, a seething, excitable mob, not afraid of any innovation. These popular classes were oppressed by the Bacchiads, but they had the numbers. With their help a noble, Cypselos, seized the power and established a tyranny about 655. After him, his son Periandros reigned forty-four years, and made Corinth incomparably splendid. This is the period which we must choose in order to obtain a picture of the brilliant life and manifold activity of the Corinthians.

Corinth stood in the first rank of the sea powers. Her war navy ensured her incontestable superiority in the Peloponnese, and for a long time in the whole of Greece. The Corinthians were the first of the Greeks to build triremes ;² the large sea-faring population easily supplied crews, and Corinth was rich enough, if necessary, to offer rowers high pay which attracted volunteers from every country.³ Corinth was able to supply other states with ships ; the Corinthian Ameinocles built four triremes for the Samians,⁴ and the State lent Athens twenty ships for the war against Ægina.⁵ Thucydides believed that the earliest naval battle between Greeks was fought by Corinthians and Corcyræans.⁶ Although the merchant navy of Corinth has attracted the attention of ancient historians less, it cannot have been less important than the war navy, in comparison with those of other states.

The activity of Corinth in trade and on the seas resulted in colonial expansion. Looking for markets which should supply raw materials or take manufactured goods, Corinth

¹ Strabo, viii. 6. 23 ; Theophr., *C. P.*, iii. 20. 5. ² Thuc., i. 13.
³ *Ibid.*, i. 31. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 13. ⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 41. ⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 13.

sent out colonists in three directions. About the middle of the VIIIth century the Corinthians, passing from the Gulf of Corinth to the Ionian Sea, established themselves in Corcyra, having expelled or absorbed the settlers from Eretria who were there before them. From there they extended their colonies to the south-west and to the north. In the one direction, in the second half of the VIIIth century, they reached Sicily, where they founded Syracuse; and in the other, at the end of the VIIth century and the beginning of the VIth, they colonized the north-west of the Balkan Peninsula in co-operation with Corcyra, founding Anactorion and Leucas in Acarnania, Ambracia in Epeiros, and Apollonia and Epidamnos in Illyria. Lastly, in the first half of the VIth century, Corinth, following the Eubœan cities, turned her eyes to the north of the Ægean, and founded Potidæa in Chalcidice. Although the Corinthian colonies pretended to complete independence, and economic rivalry in the Ionian and Adriatic Seas even led to conflicts between Corinth and Corcyra from the very beginning, a real Corinthian empire existed, a sphere of commercial exploitation in which the supremacy of the mother-city was undisputed.

Commercial development was followed by industrial development. Corinth, having neither food-stuffs nor raw materials to export, turned to industry for goods to load her ships. All kinds of crafts were practised; the terra-cotta tablets dedicated by the working people which have been found at Corinth show us a whole world of craftsmen.¹ Industry required plenty of workers. The number of slaves was great, even if we regard Athenæus' figure of 460,000 as mythical.² The workers of free estate were also very numerous, for (and this proves how different Corinth was from the aristocratic Dorian cities) manual labour was particularly honoured there.³ Corinthian industry was above all a luxury industry, producing articles which were small in weight and bulk but represented great commercial value. The textile industry worked linen fabrics, purple-dyed, embroidered garments, and hangings of many colours.⁴ The workshops produced beautiful furniture; the masterpiece of Corinthian cabinet-making was the chest preserved

¹ XCIX, pp. 31, 86. ² Ath., vi. 272B. ³ Hdt., ii. 167.

⁴ Ath., i. 27D; xii. 525D; xiii. 582D.

at Olympia as the offering of Cypselos, which was made of cedar and adorned with gold and ivory plating.¹ The bronze-workers manufactured mirrors and minor articles which, all through antiquity, earned for Corinthian metal-work a world-wide reputation.

The most thriving industry was that of pottery. It made use of clay-pits near the city, which yielded a greenish white clay, rather soapy to the touch, by which it is easy to recognize true Corinthian wares.² The vases made in Corinth—not to mention the imitations of the Corinthian style³—were sent to the four corners of the ancient world. They have been found not only all over European and Asiatic Greece, but in the Crimea, in Egypt, in Etruria, and in Gaul. The oldest tombs of the Roman Forum⁴ and the Carthaginian necropoles⁵ contained specimens. There is no better evidence of the expansion of Corinthian trade. The vases most widely spread were small vessels which served to hold scented oils or ointments; the perfumes of Corinth were sold all over the Mediterranean world to the blades and beauties who regarded Corinth as the queen of fashion, and the receptacle owed its success to its contents even more than to its painted decoration.

In addition to these small vases, the Corinthian potter made big vases, with processions of animals or large figure compositions spread over the belly. The gorgeous, many-coloured fabrics which he saw all around him no doubt gave him his taste for colour; the Corinthian vases are among the most showy, the most highly coloured, the gayest; the figures stand out in black silhouette against a light ground, with touches of white and purplish red. Corinthian ornament, which was related to the Asiatic styles, was especially influenced by large-scale painting. Indeed Corinth was said to be the birthplace of painting. The memory of silhouette-drawing was preserved in the anecdote of the daughter of the potter Dibutades tracing the portrait of the young man whom she loved from his shadow on the wall.⁶ It was at Corinth that Cleanthes and Aridices were the first to indicate figures by outlines and to suggest details of muscles and

¹ Paus., v. 17-19.

² L, ii, pp. 422, 424.

³ L, ii, p. 455.

⁴ Poll., x. 182; L, ii, p. 423.

⁵ Thédenat, *Le Forum romain*, p. 8.

⁶ Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv. 151.

costume by a few internal lines, and that Ecphantos thought of painting the whole figure red.¹ Famous works of Corinthian painters were quoted, Aregon's *Artemis with the Griffin*² and Cleanthes' *Fall of Troy* and *Birth of Athene*.³ The great Corinthian craters give us a reflection of this lost religious and historical painting.

Enriched by trade and industry, strong in her colonies, beautified by the work of her artists and craftsmen, Corinth gives the impression of a gorgeous city, in which a wealthy aristocracy of merchants displayed the utmost magnificence. The epithet constantly attached to her name is "opulent," ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος.⁴ If we would picture the life of these wealthy ones, we must look at the scenes of feasts which the Corinthian vase-painters loved to depict, for example on the fine crater in the Louvre which shows Heracles entertained by Eurytios.⁵ Here we see the great men, clad in marvellous embroidered garments, reclining on banqueting-couches beside little tables on which the servants have placed the dishes; close behind, the cooks prepare the meal and carve the meat, and the dogs lying under the seats wait for scraps. At these entertainments there was the further attraction of music; it was at Corinth that Arion of Lesbos invented the dithyramb.⁶ Nor must we omit the joys dispensed by the courtesans, the most famous in all Greece for their beauty and their luxury.⁷ It is surely significant that, in the eyes of all antiquity, Corinth was the city where it was not given to everyone to have a gay time—οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.⁸

Such was the aspect of Corinth under the tyranny of Periandros. The government which had brought her this unprecedented prosperity was to be of short duration; at Corinth, as everywhere else, tyranny was only a passing phase. After Periandros, the Cypselids met with opposition, and party struggles began again. The tyranny was overthrown, probably with the help of Sparta. In the Vth century Corinth had a moderate aristocratic government. But she was still, and she would be until the day when Mummius

¹ Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv. 16.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 3. 12.

³ Louvre, E 635; *L*, ii, p. 481.

⁴ *Ar.*, *Plut.*, 149, and schol.

⁵ Strabo, viii. 3. 12.

⁶ *Il.*, ii. 570; Pind., fr. 122.

⁷ *Hdt.*, i. 23.

⁸ Strabo, viii. 6. 20.

Achaicus reduced her to ashes, the opulent city, the great trading city, one of the economic capitals of the Greek world.

3. THE CITIES OF THE SEABOARD

Corinth by herself represented almost the whole navy of the Peloponnese. Of the 383 ships which took part in the Battle of Salamis, the cities of the Peloponnese—and Argos alone was absent—supplied only 89, less than a quarter, and 40 of these were provided by Corinth.¹ Although the Peloponnese was almost an island, shipping activity was never intense there.

For the coasts were as a rule not favourable to navigation. The west coast was low, sandy, and lined in places with dunes;² the silt of the rivers formed long, straight banks opposite the shore, and these gradually came to enclose lagoons. No port could be built there; the Athenian fleet could not stay on the coast of Elis, for lack of shelters.³ It was the same at the head of the gulfs where the rivers spread their silt, in Messenia, in Argolis, and in Laconia. For the building of ports sandy coasts were avoided, and rocky ground at the foot of mountain chains was preferred, as in the case of Asine on the Messenian Gulf, Gytheion on the Laconian, and Nauplia on the Argolic. But in most places the mountains rose sheer from the water; the coves might serve as nests for pirates, but they were too badly connected with the interior to be of value as trading harbours. Finally, the southern points were regarded as dangerous; Cape Malea had a sinister reputation for the accidents for which it was responsible.

Marine activity was concentrated around the Saronic Gulf in Epidauros, Trœzen, and Hermione, and on the Corinthian Gulf, where the principal port was Sicyon. Sicyon was an Achæan city, which, according to the *Catalogue of Ships*, was part of Agamemnon's empire.⁴ It was taken by the Dorians but the Dorian conquerors had to allow Achæan peoples to survive beside them; tradition related that the Dorian chief from Argos had shared the power with the native king. What is more significant, there were four tribes at

¹ Hdt., viii. 43; 82. 2.

² Thuc., ii. 25. 4–5.

³ Strabo, viii. 3. 14.

⁴ *Il.*, ii. 572.

Sicyon. Three bore the usual names of the Dorian tribes, and the fourth probably embraced the old inhabitants of the country, whose name, Ægialeis, recalls that of Ægialos, originally borne by the country which later became Achæa.¹ By making use of the hostility between the subject peoples, who formed the popular classes, and the conquerors, who formed the aristocracy of great land-owners, Orthagoras succeeded in establishing his personal power and in founding a line which ruled for a century. The most illustrious of the Orthagorids was Cleisthenes. His fame went beyond the bounds of the city. Having won the chariot-race in the Pythian Games of 582, he caused the Treasury of the Sicyonians to be built at Delphi. From all the towns of Greece the young men of the noblest families came to sue for the hand of his daughter, and, after entertainments in which all the suitors vied in splendour,² Cleisthenes chose his son-in-law from the powerful Athenian house of the Alcæonids.³

Under the tyranny of the Orthagorids Sicyon developed a brilliant civilization. Built on a height in the middle of a very fertile little plain,⁴ it soon became a great commercial centre, with a merchant fleet ranging the Gulf of Corinth. Cleisthenes was inspired by interest no less than by piety when he intervened with his naval forces in the Sacred War.⁵ By putting an end to the exactions with which the people of Crissa burdened all who landed at their port, he worked for the maintenance of peace on the Gulf of Corinth, and he took advantage of the opportunity to break the competition of Crissa, whose trade benefited by the flow of pilgrims. The port of Sicyon had the advantage of standing at the end of an overland trade-route. This route, by way of Phlius and the lakes of northern Arcadia, reached Orchomenos, crossed the Arcadian plateau, and then ran from Tegea to Laconia, ending at Gytheion. All along this road the merchants of Sicyon travelled and trafficked; among the coins found at Mantinea and Tegea, those of Sicyon are the most frequent.⁶

The prosperity of Sicyon was expressed in the works of art which adorned the city. Sculpture was introduced by

¹ Hdt., v. 68; Paus., v. 1. 1.

² Hdt., vi. 126 ff.

³ Paus., ii. 9. 6; x. 37. 6.

⁴ Diod., viii. 19.

⁵ Ath., v. 219A; Paus., x. 32. 19.

⁶ C, p. 50.

artists from Crete. One of them, Aristocles, settled in the city and founded a line of sculptors ; his grandson Canachos executed a colossal bronze Apollo for the temple of the Branchidæ.¹ The school of painting was equally celebrated. Craton and Telephanes shared with the painters of Corinth the honour of being credited with the first improvements of drawing and painting.²

Tyranny lasted longer in Sicyon than in any other city, but in the end it disappeared, as in Corinth, on the intervention of Sparta, which was irritated alike by the tyrannical government and by the place given to the non-Dorian classes. With aristocratic government, Dorian influence again prevailed in Sicyon ; but the revolution did not interrupt either marine activity or artistic development. Canachos worked after the fall of the Orthagorids ; and, of the Peloponnesian cities at Salamis, Sicyon was second only to Corinth in number of ships.³

4. ARCADIA

The continental character of the Peloponnese is, naturally, particularly marked in the central region, especially since Arcadia is a high plain surrounded by mountains. Behind its screen of mountains, the country has a more continental climate ; the mean temperature for January is 5° cent., that for July is 23°, and the eighteen degrees of variation show clearly that the country is removed from the influence of the sea. The precipitations of the atmosphere are not sufficient to feed big rivers ; the watercourses are not strong enough to dig deep valleys and to cut through the mountain barrier. So the hydrographic system is incomplete ; Arcadia is a closed plain with lakes and swamps, and it is only by underground channels that the water of the plateau reaches the lower country outside.

For sailors like the Greeks the characteristic feature of Arcadia was that it nowhere looked on the sea.⁴ But we must not exaggerate this isolation. The mountain ring was nowhere impassable ; it was crossed by roads which connected the plateau with the neighbouring countries, and through them with the sea. In the north, Orchomenos

¹ *XLIX*, i, pp. 308 ff. ² Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv. 16. ³ Hdt., viii. 43.

⁴ Strabo, vii, 2. 2 ; Paus., viii. 1. 3.

communicated, by the lakes and Phlius, with Sicyon. In the east, there were three ways from Mantinea to Argolis. In the south, a road connected Tegea with Sparta by Sellasia. Finally, in the west, one could go from Megalopolis to Sparta by the upper valley of the Eurotas, or to Elis and Olympia by that of the Alpheios. Nor was the sea more than two or three days distant in any direction. Lycæos, the religious centre of Arcadia, was almost equidistant from Gytheion and Samicon, being about 56 miles from each. It is difficult to judge the historical value of the legends which give the Arcadians a share in the earliest colonies, mention Arcadian migrations to Paros,¹ and make Agapenor of Tegea the founder of Paphos.² It is no less difficult to determine whether there was really any Phœnician traffic on the Arcadian roads, bringing not only the goods of the East but also its gods and worships.³ But a mere study of the geographical conditions shows that at a very early date Arcadia was in communication with the sea.

Men rather than nature shut the Arcadians off from the world. By its central position and by its mountainous character Arcadia inevitably appeared as a place of refuge; it was here that the old populations were driven by every invasion. The Arcadians regarded themselves as the original inhabitants of the Peloponnese;⁴ an ex-voto at Delphi speaks of "the autochthonous people of holy Arcadia."⁵ When the Achæans occupied the Peloponnese, the Pelasgians withdrew into the central retreat; Pelasgos, according to tradition, came from Argos, his capital, and civilized Arcadia.⁶ Then, when the Dorians supplanted the Achæans, these latter in their turn sought refuge in the Arcadian plain and mountains.⁷ The Arcadian dialect was one of the few survivals of a large linguistic group, which was almost annihilated by the invasions, the common Achæan.⁸ The part which Arcadia played as a refuge explains the archaic character of the inhabitants. Driven back into the mountains and cut off from the sea by the new-comers, they remained in, or returned to, a primitive state of culture. The more inaccessible a district was, the wilder were its inhabi-

¹ Heracl. (*F. H. G.*, ii. 214).

² Paus., viii. 5. 2; 53. 7.

³ *C. passim.*

⁴ Hdt., viii. 73; Xen., *Hell.*, vii. 1. 23.

⁵ *XVII*, xiv (1889), p. 17.

⁶ Schol. on Eur., *Or.*, 1646.

⁷ Hdt., ii. 171.

⁸ *XLV*, p. 87.

tants. This was the cause of the difference between the plain and the mountain masses of the west.

Western Arcadia was a wild, broken country. There the plateau was cut up by streams into masses rising sheer from deep ravines. In the moist bottoms were a few scarce corn-fields; the mountain-sides were clad in forest broken by rare clearings; on the top were the summer pastures. This was pastoral Arcadia, Ἀρκαδία πολύμηλος,¹ the Arcadia which worshipped the guardian gods of flocks and herds, Pan and Hermes. But this Arcadia was very different from that which the poets imagined. The inhabitants were as wild as the country. Their food was still very primitive; they ate the sweet acorns of their oaks.² They were scattered among hill cantons, knowing nothing of towns and Hellenic city life, and content with quite a rudimentary organization in tribes. Even their religion was primitive and barbaric; Lycæos was for long bloody with human sacrifice.³

The plain was quite different. It was nearly twenty miles long, and of varying breadth, which in places reached five miles. The great drawback was the lack of sufficient drainage. The plain was divided into closed basins of various extent.⁴ The water, having no outlet but the *katavothrais*, collected and formed swamps or lakes with a varying level. In the north, the basins of Pheneos and Stymphalos were partly occupied by beautiful lakes, which sometimes flooded the neighbouring land, and sometimes left it dry.⁵ In the centre the plain formed a single basin, but the mountains came close together so as to divide it into two parts, one higher than the other; the water, flowing down from the basin of Tegea, joined that of the basin of Mantinea, and constantly threatened to turn Mantinice into a vast swamp.⁶ On the other hand, the drained portions were very fertile and well cultivated. Mantinice produced enough corn to be able to supply some to the Argives in time of war.⁷ After the harvest the stubble was left to the beasts; horses were bred there, which were considered among the best in Greece.⁸

The population naturally collected in the plain, and it

¹ Schol. on Theocr., xiv. 48.

² Hdt., i. 66.

³ **XXIX**, s.v. *Lykaia*.

⁴ **LXIII**, p. 11.

⁵ Theophr., *H. P.*, iii. 1. 2; Paus., viii. 1. 1. For the Stymphalian Lake, see above, p. 23.

⁶ See above, p. 23.

⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 2. 2.

⁸ Strabo, viii. 8. 1.

was here that the first towns were built. The *Catalogue of Ships* already knows the Arcadian cities of the plain.¹ At the beginning of the VIth century Orchomenos in the north, under its kings Aristocrates and Aristodamos, held sway over the whole of Arcadia. In the south, the inhabitants of Tegeatis, distributed among nine rural communities, united and built a capital, Tegea, which they surrounded with walls in order to offer the better resistance to their neighbours in Laconia.² Later, the people of Mantinice organized themselves into a city in their turn, and founded Mantinea. But the population of the Arcadian plain kept its rural character and its love of living in scattered communities. It preferred its large villages to great urban agglomerations. When, in 384, Sparta endeavoured to ruin Mantinea by redistributing the citizens in the four old rural cantons, she effected this change without much difficulty, and the Mantineians consoled themselves with the thought that their houses would now be nearer their fields.³ The attempt of Epaminondas to create a great Arcadian capital was not more successful; the peasants transported to Megalopolis missed their villages, and hurried back to them at the first opportunity.⁴

If the people of the Arcadian plain found it difficult to organize cities, still less was it ready to effect its political unity. It might just manage to form a religious association for the celebration of common worship, but it was incapable of constituting a state. In the VIth century rivalry broke out between the two towns which shared the great central basin, Tegea and Mantinea. Nature had more or less cut them off from one another, the frontier being marked by the narrowing of the plain and by a tract of forest, and it had made the question of the water an occasion for unending dispute between the two cities.⁵ Their hostility was further aggravated by the fact that they were drawn towards opposing alliances. In spite of its central position, Arcadia was sufficiently easy of access for the neighbouring States to be tempted to interfere with it. Argos on the one hand and Sparta on the other had designs on the country, and sought to obtain a door to it and a *point d'appui* inside. Tegea,

¹ *Il.*, ii. 603-8.

² Strabo, viii. 3. 2; Paus., viii. 45. 1.

³ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 2. 7.

⁴ Diod., xv. 94; cf. Paus., viii. 27. 5.

⁵ See above, p. 23.

which was nearer Sparta, was the object of Lacedæmonian attacks. Supported by the Argives, the Tegeates for some time held the Spartans in check. But in the VIth century, after two long wars, they were obliged to accept the protectorate of Sparta. In time of war they had to furnish contingents which formed one wing of the Lacedæmonian army.¹ Tegeatis became a kind of attachment of Laconia. It was in the temple of Athene Alea at Tegea that the Spartiates, who were not allowed to traffic in money in their own country, deposited their wealth, and it was by this means that they put their capital to profitable use.² Inversely, Mantinea, the enemy of Tegea, was the natural ally of the enemies of Sparta. After the defeat of Tegea it was Argos that helped the Mantineians to organize themselves as a city, in order that she might have in the north of the plain the support which she had just lost in the south. Mantinea generally adapted her policy to that of Argos, and outside the Peloponnese she entered into friendly relations with Sparta's rival, Athens.

The almost continuous state of war developed the military virtues of the Arcadians; already in the *Catalogue of Ships* they have a name for knowing how to fight—ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν.³ For this people, whose life was difficult everywhere and half-savage in the mountains, the calling of arms, which appeals to man's primitive nature, seemed the best means of existence. Arcadia would always be the land of mercenaries.⁴

5. THE UPLANDS AND THE PLAINS

With the central stronghold formed by the plateau of Arcadia we may contrast the lower regions around it, in which more powerful States managed to develop. But all were not of equal size and importance, and we may distinguish between the upland countries and the plain countries.

For forms of farming as for population, the uplands constituted a transition between the mountains and the plains, between the pastoral districts and the agricultural districts. There trees took more room than plough-land, but large

¹ Hdt., ix. 26.

³ *Il.*, ii. 611.

² *Ath.*, vi. 233; cf. *II*, v. 159.

⁴ *Thuc.*, vii. 57.

tracts were still unreclaimed waste and brush. Life was quite rural, and the towns were second-rate. The inhabitants were peasants "with dusty feet," *κονίποδες*, as those of the country of Epidaurus were called.¹ This was the general appearance of the peninsula north-east of Argolis, of Achæa on the Gulf of Corinth, and of Elis in the north-west of the Peloponnese.

This last country may be taken as an example. It was considered rich.² The land was sufficiently fertile for the rape of Core to be localized there, as in every corn-growing country.³ Cattle were so numerous that an expedition into Elis was a profitable undertaking, and secured enough food for the whole Peloponnese.⁴ The inhabitants lived scattered in villages; only after the Persian Wars did they combine to form a city.⁵ Even then the Eleians continued to live in the country; a story was told of a family of great land-owners in which for several generations no one had ever set foot in the town of Elis.⁶

Elis would have held no more place in Greek history than Achæa, if it had not possessed one of the great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, Olympia. This stood at the confluence of the Alpheios and the Cladeos, in the midst of wooded hills and valleys, in a quiet, gentle landscape very unlike the grand, rugged scenery of Delphi. The history of the cults of Olympia is even more obscure than that of the cults of Delphi. The legends which collected about the sanctuary seem to record memories of the different peoples who have occupied the country. From pre-Hellenic times came the worship of Zeus, which was probably brought from Crete; the Achæans were represented by Pelops, who supplants the Ætolian king Œnomaos; lastly, with the Dorians, Heracles establishes himself at Olympia, and his labours and his miraculous athletic feats mark him out to be the patron of boxers and wrestlers. It was Heracles, according to the legend, who reorganized the games already instituted in honour of Pelops, and turned the funeral ceremony in honour of a hero into the great athletic festival which must have been a joy to the Dorian warriors. The institution of the

¹ Plut., *Mor.*, 291E.

² Paus., vi. 21. 1-2.

³ Strabo, viii. 3. 2.

⁴ Paus., v. 4. 1; vi. 26. 6.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 2. 26.

⁶ Polyb., iv. 73.

games was, in fact, so ancient that men had to be content with legends ; Lycurgos, who is hardly more historical than Heracles, was also mentioned as one of the organizers of the festival. There was a list which was supposed to give the names of the victors as far back as 776, and this served as a basis for the chronology of the Olympiads. By the middle of the VIIth century Olympia held such a place in the religious and moral life of the Peloponnese that anyone who hoped to rule the peninsula must first hold the sanctuary. Pheidon of Argos seized it and presided at the games, and after the Argive hegemony the Spartans became its permanent patrons and defenders.

The plain-countries, that is to say, Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia, played a more important part than the upland countries. They were well sheltered, and enjoyed a temperate but rather dry climate. They had a muddy soil on the plain where the corn-fields lay, mixed with stones at the foot of the mountains and on the lower slopes where the vines and olives grew. In the Homeric poems Argolis is the plain of rich harvests, "Ἀργὸς πολὺπυρον,¹ and of great herds of horses, "Ἀργὸς ἱππόβοτον.² Messenia, better watered, was still more fertile and richer in pastures ; it was said that there was no agricultural region which could rival it.³

These plains, endowed by nature with similar qualities, had almost the same history. Very naturally, it was there that the population collected from the beginning, and received the first elements of civilization from the Ægeans by way of the sea. Danaos, who in the classical legends comes from the banks of the Nile, may well have personified this culture from across the sea, that is, from the Ægæo-Cretan world of the islands. Then, when the Achæans came, the great Mycenæan states were founded ; Argolis had Mycenæ and Tiryns, Laconia had Amyclæ, and Messenia had Pylos and Andania. Finally, the Dorian invasion overthrew the Achæan states ; the Heracleidæ shared the rich land among themselves ; Temenos, it was said, settled at Argos,⁴ Cresphontes at Stenyclaros,⁵ and the two sons of Aristodemos at Sparta.⁶

¹ *Il.*, xv. 372.

² See above, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 287.

⁴ Paus., iv. 3. 7.

⁵ Eur., fr. 452.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 1. 5.

The Dorian invasion affected the previous inhabitants to a various extent in different parts. In Argolis part of the old population were reduced to serfdom; the Gymnetes at Argos became what the Helots were at Sparta.¹ Certain authors, however, who compare them rather with the Pericæci, probably thought that their condition was better.² For it is a fact that in Argolis the conquerors and the conquered mingled. At Argos, by the side of the three Dorian tribes, there was a fourth tribe which probably embraced the non-Dorian elements.³ At Mycenæ, the inhabitants of which were certainly believed to be of the same race as those of Argos, the basis of the population must have been Achæan, just as at Tiryns; this was the cause of the enmity between the two old cities and the new city, which hated them and in the end annihilated them.⁴ The towns of the plain were grouped in a federation. In the middle of the VIIth century Pheidon tightened up its rather loose bonds, and made it into a strong state under the leadership of Argos. He extended his power, beyond the plain, over the north-western upland country, as far as the Saronic Gulf, and even contemplated ruling over the whole Peloponnese.⁵ But the hegemony of Argos was short-lived. After two generations the line of Pheidon lost the throne.⁶ The kingship survived in name,⁷ but had no longer any power. Argos struggled vainly against Sicyon⁸ and against Corinth, but could not re-establish her supremacy.

In Messenia, as in Argolis, the population was the result of the mixture of conquerors and conquered. It would seem that the Messenians were ready to obey the Dorian chiefs and to share their lands with the new-comers, and that on these terms they were allowed to remain in their country.⁹ Mixed marriages must have confirmed these arrangements; in the legend the Dorian Cresphontes marries the Arcadian Merope.¹⁰ But the independent life of Messenia was not long enough to allow the Messenian people to develop its special character. In the VIIIth century Messenia was

¹ Poll., iii. 83; cf. Hdt., vi. 83.

² Arist., *Pol.*, v. 2. 8; Paus., viii. 27. 1.

³ Strabo, viii. 6. 10, 19; Paus., ii. 16. 5; vii. 25. 6; ii. 25. 8.

⁴ Hdt., vi. 127; Strabo, viii. 3. 33.

⁵ Paus., ii. 19. 2; Plut., *Mor.*, 340c.

⁶ Hdt., v. 67.

⁷ Paus., iv. 3. 6.

⁸ II, iv. 600, 601.

⁹ Hdt., vii. 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

attacked by the Lacedæmonians and reduced to a mere dependency of the Spartan state.

Only the Dorians of Laconia claimed to maintain in all their purity Dorian blood and Dorian customs. It was Sparta which, by dominating the Peloponnese, obliterated local distinctions and gave the whole country the same Dorian appearance.

CHAPTER V

SPARTA

1. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SPARTA

THE institutions and life of Sparta were already a matter for astonishment to the ancients, and many customs seemed to them inexplicable. Sparta, in the midst of classical Greece, retained such a marked archaic aspect, that the origin of its social and political institutions was relegated to an almost inaccessible past, and they were attributed wholesale—except the creation of the Ephors—to a single legislator, Lycurgos. But about Lycurgos traditions were uncertain and discordant. Even Plutarch, though he readily accepted the most unhistorical stories without checking them, admits that one can say nothing about Lycurgos which is not doubtful; about his origin, his travels, his legislative activity, his death, and even the time at which he lived, there are as many different versions as there are authorities.¹ Without going so far as to deny the historical personality of Lycurgos, without regarding him, in virtue of the worship which was paid to him,² as a light-god or a wolf-god, a hypostasis of Apollo or Zeus,³ we must make up our minds that we know nothing of his history.

The study of Spartan institutions is still harder for us because we can only accept the evidence of the ancients with great suspicion. Many historians or philosophers studied Sparta,⁴ but very few did so in an objective, impartial way. Since Sparta was the type of the aristocratic city, she had become the ideal of the aristocrats of all cities. In Athens especially, a whole group of Laconizers, out of aristocratic contempt for manual labour and out of hatred of the mob which ruled the Assembly, took every opportunity to extol the purely agricultural domestic economy and the oligarchic

¹ Plut., *Lyc.*, 1.

² *LXXIX*, pp. 12 ff.

³ Hdt., i. 66; Paus., iii. 16. 6.

⁴ *CII*, p. 52.

government of Sparta. It was these Laconizers who created the character of the Spartan endowed with every virtue, and it was they who collected the historic utterances, true or apocryphal, which turn Spartan history into an uninterrupted exhibition of morality. Xenophon and Plato, for whom nothing is perfect but Sparta, do not or will not see the dark parts of the picture which they present as a pattern to their fellow-citizens. Conversely, the democrats lay stress only on the shortcomings and vices of the Spartans, and the Athenian patriots, whatever their party, do not show much more sense of proportion in their judgments. The bias and even the violence of Athenian public opinion appear not only in a poet like Euripides,¹ but in a historian like Thucydides.² Herodotos himself, who gives us so much interesting information about the Sparta of the VIth century, lived too long in contact with Athenians to escape their prejudices.³ Sparta has the misfortune to be known chiefly through her eulogists and her enemies.

The history of Spartan institutions has undergone yet other distortions. As the inequality of wealth became manifest, and appeared as the chief cause of civil troubles and economic ruin, the theorists sought to solve the agrarian problem by preaching the equal distribution of land or the community of goods, either measure to be imposed and maintained by the State. Was not this, they said, the system in force in Sparta? And almost unconsciously they started to arrange the facts so that such an illustrious example might fit their theories better. This work of adaptation was done in Sparta itself when, in the IIIrd century, certain kings made a determined attack on the problem of pauperism. To obtain acceptance of their social reforms, they could not do better than present them as a return to the institutions of their ancestors, and to invoke the ever venerated name of the legendary law-giver. The Sparta of Lycurgos thus owes many features to the Sparta of Agis and Cleomenes.

The result of all these falsifications, intended or unconscious, is a picture of Sparta which cannot be true. We should consider what traditional history is like in Plutarch. His whole work consists in putting together, without

¹ Eur., *Andr.*, 445 ff., 595 ff. ² Thuc., i. 70-1; viii. 96.

³ Hdt., ix. 53.

criticism, the most contradictory evidence, preserving especially so much as would please a moralist with an admiration for the antique virtues. Equality and communism, austere habits and burning patriotism, edifying anecdotes and apophthegms in the best Laconian manner, all this appears in Plutarch in a jumble in which it is very hard to tell legend from history.

Modern historians, not finding satisfaction in the ancient authors, have in their turn sought for explanations and proposed conjectures. Thus, some have appealed to comparative ethnology,¹ but it is not very certain that this attempt to explain Sparta by uncivilized peoples can give much result. Their comparisons are interesting, and might perhaps hold good for the earliest origin of institutions. But historical Sparta had long emerged from this phase of origins. Why should primitive customs have survived here more than elsewhere? That is what the ethnologists do not explain. In trying to explain Sparta we must take her as she is at different moments of her history. For, whatever the Spartans may have claimed, Spartan institutions did not remain utterly unchanged, and we expose ourselves to serious errors if we fail to take chronology into account and confuse different periods. The Sparta of Herodotos is not the Sparta of Agesilaos. Here as everywhere else, historical evolution is a factor which is indispensable to explanation.

2. THE POPULATION AND MILITARY STRENGTH OF SPARTA

Laconia was occupied by pre-Hellenic peoples, whom tradition calls Leleges, making Lelex, their legendary eponym, the ancestor of the mythical dynasty which reigned down to Tyndaros.² Then the Hellenes came to the country. The Achæan invaders did not have to use violence always, and they mingled peacefully with the natives, if we are to believe the legendary story which shows Menelaos obtaining the crown by marrying Tyndaros' daughter.³ The centre of the Achæan domination was Amyclæ. Near Amyclæ, the domed tomb of Vapheio is an evidence of Mycenæan civilization, and has yielded one of the finest specimens of Ægæo-

¹ E.g. **XII**, xxvi (1913), pp. 121 ff.

² Paus., iii. 1. 1-5.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 1. 5.

Cretan goldsmiths' work. At Amyclæ ancient cults were practised which went back at least to Achæan times. There stood the tomb of Hyacinthos,¹ a chthonian deity who was later supplanted by Apollo, just as Carnos was honoured by the Achæan inhabitants of Laconia² long before the Carneia, held in honour of his supplanter Apollo Carneios, became the national festival of the Dorians.³

The Achæan power was overthrown by the Dorian invasion. We must imagine the Dorians as arriving in successive, separate bands, small in numbers but capable, by their military excellence and superior armament, of imposing their will on populations which were more numerous and better civilized, but less warlike and already weakened by their very civilization. Little by little these bands coalesced, and the Spartan city was created when all the Dorians of "hollow Lacedæmon"⁴ had become one single people. The presence of two kings at Sparta permits us to suppose that two main groups united, each keeping its chief, to form the city. One of them must have been the more powerful and more ancient; and indeed the family of the Eurypontids was held to be younger and was less esteemed than that of the Agiads.⁵

The Dorians had at first settled in the upper basin of the Eurotas, where they had occupied, at the entrance of the valley, the land around Sparta.⁶ The city, which until the IIIrd century had no surrounding wall, was only a group of villages,⁷ scattered over six hills; perhaps each of these was originally the habitat of one of the Dorian bands. Then the Spartans gradually conquered the whole country. The compiler of the *Catalogue of Ships* enumerates nine towns in Laconia without regarding Sparta as more important than the others.⁸ After completing the occupation of the upper valley by the capture of Amyclæ,⁹ the Spartans subdued the towns of the surrounding mountains, such as Geronthræ,¹⁰ and finally descended into the marshy plain beside the gulf; Helos was the last city in which the Achæans held out.¹¹ The conquerors appropriated and shared the best lands. The conquered were reduced to the condition of subjects. Those who accepted the conqueror's terms with resignation re-

¹ Paus., iii. 19. 3.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 13. 4.

³ **XXIX**, s.v. *Karneia*.

⁴ *Il.*, ii. 581.

⁵ Hdt., vi. 21.

⁶ Strabo, viii. 5. 4.

⁷ Thuc., i. 10.

⁸ *Il.*, ii. 581-90.

⁹ Paus., iii. 2. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii. 2. 6; iii. 22. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii. 2. 7.

mained free and had civil rights, but no political rights; these were the Pericæci. Those who maintained a stubborn resistance to the end were more harshly treated, and formed the lowest class, that of the serfs; these were the Helots.¹

The Dorians established in Laconia were not numerous. Sparta, where all the citizens lived, was considered one of the least populous cities in Greece.² The figure of 9,000–10,000 Spartiates which was assigned to the time of Lycurgos³ was invented in the light of their number in classical times, progressive depopulation being taken into account. For in Sparta the number of citizens dwindled steadily. Herodotos reckoned them at 8,000,⁴ Aristotle at barely a thousand.⁵ It would be interesting to draw the descending curve representing this demographic fact, but we have not the statistical data. Modern historians⁶ have tried to calculate the number of citizens from the military effectives, but there is much conjecture in the results obtained. The Spartiates took great care to keep the figures both of levies and of losses secret.⁷ The few figures which we can use also show the increasing weakness of the effectives. At Plataea, in 479, there were 5,000 Spartiates in the field;⁸ at Leuctra, in 371, there were only 700.⁹ Furthermore, the figures given by the ancient historians generally refer to the Lacedæmonian army, without distinction between Spartiate citizens and Pericæci, who were likewise enrolled as hoplites. In the few cases in which we can calculate the proportion between the two elements, we find the number of Pericæci constantly on the increase, another sign of the diminution of the citizens. At Plataea the numbers are equal: one Pericæcos to a Spartiate.¹⁰ Among the prisoners of Sphacteria there are 7 Pericæci to 5 Spartiates.¹¹ At Leuctra there are 2 or 3 Pericæci to a Spartiate.¹² Sparta is driven more and more to try to remedy this lack of effectives by appealing not only to the Pericæci but even to the Helots. The losses at Sphacteria were considered so heavy—about 170 Spartiates

¹ The ethnical origin of the Helots and Pericæci is still a vexed question. The best exposé of the problem and a discussion of the probable solutions will be found in L. Pareti, *Storia di Sparta arcaica* (Florence, 1920), vol. i, pp. 187 ff.

² Xen., *Lac.*, 1.

³ Plut., *Lyc.*, 8.

⁴ Hdt., vii. 234.

⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 11.

⁶ CIV, CV.

⁷ Thuc., v. 68, 74.

⁸ Hdt., ix. 10, 28.

⁹ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 15.

¹⁰ Hdt., ix. 28.

¹¹ Thuc., iv. 38.

¹² Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 1. 1; 4. 12, 15.

—that Brasidas led an army into Thrace which was composed entirely of Helots and mercenaries.¹ The Spartiates now formed only the cadres of the Peloponnesian forces ; Agesilaos led into Asia 30 Spartiates, 2,000 Helots, freed for the occasion, and 6,000 allies.²

This dearth of men, this *ὀλιγανθρωπία*, in which the ancients rightly saw the mortal sickness of Sparta,³ was due in the first place to war, which, being almost incessant, decimated the eligible male population. The losses were all the higher because the Spartan would sooner die than desert the post entrusted to him. Victories might not be very costly. The losses reported at Platæa were so small that the number may be suspected,⁴ and at Mantinea, in 418, they were not 9%.⁵ But defeats were particularly murderous. Not to mention contingents which were wiped out, like the troops of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, or the body of 300 men annihilated at Stenyclaros during the Helot revolt,⁶ the losses at Sphacteria exceeded 30%,⁷ and those at Lechæon in 390 were over 41%.⁸ These figures, which refer to the whole Lacedæmonian army, should probably be increased, if we are concerned only with Spartiate citizens, who as a point of honour and patriotism would expose themselves more to danger. At Leuctra the losses of the Spartiates were 57%, while those of the Laconians were only 30%.⁹

Only a high birth-rate could have made up these losses in war. It was in the interest of the State to look after births, in order to maintain its effectives. Marriage was compulsory, and the Spartiate was not held in esteem by his fellow-citizens if he had no children.¹⁰ But we do not know of any official measures taken to raise the birth-rate. The intervention of the State to decide the fate of the new-born child, so far from limiting the rights of the father and reducing the cases of exposure, could only increase the number of children abandoned.¹¹ Those who had sons had the right to be preferred for dangerous posts;¹² it required Spartan virtue to regard this as a privilege. Above all, the system of ownership led the father to be content with a single son. The lot

¹ Thuc., iv. 80. ² Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 4. 2. ³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 12.

⁴ Hdt., ix. 70. ⁵ Thuc., v. 74. ⁶ Hdt., ix. 64.

⁷ Thuc., iv. 38. ⁸ Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 5. 12, 17.

⁹ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 15. ¹⁰ Plut., *Lyc.*, 15.

¹¹ **XXIX**, s.v. *Expositio*. ¹² Hdt., vii. 205.

which the Spartiate owned on the *Civic Land* was an entailed estate, inalienable and indivisible. It went of necessity to the eldest son. The younger sons, if any, could not obtain a property, by purchase or inheritance, except on the less fertile land of the *Perioikis*, and were almost condemned to semi-poverty. Now, in Sparta a man could be a citizen only if he had a certain income from land ; if he could not furnish his share of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs,¹ he was excluded from the public messes, and consequently from the citizen body.² In a large family, therefore, hardly any but the eldest, the inheritor of the "ancestral portion," could keep his citizen rights.

Here we come to the other reason of the decrease, not of the whole population of Sparta, but of the number of citizens. There were men, citizens born, who were deprived of their citizen rights. Besides those who were excluded from the citizenship by their poverty, there were all those condemned to civic degradation, *atimia*. To incur this penalty, it was not necessary to have committed serious faults, such as refusal to obey an order in the face of the enemy ;³ it was enough to have neglected one of the innumerable regulations in which the whole of Spartan life was tied up. Thus the severity of the laws helped to deplete the body of citizen little by little. It was such a real danger that when the offenders were too numerous the law was allowed to sleep ; the soldiers who surrendered at Sphacteria were spared the degradation to which they were at first sentenced.⁴ So there were in Sparta two classes, both descended from the Dorian conquerors : the citizens who enjoyed full rights, the Equals, *ὅμοιοι*, constantly dwindling in number, and the Spartiates who had lost their citizen rights, the Inferiors, *ὑπομείονες*, who, growing more and more numerous, went to swell the ranks of the Laconian populations. The numerical disproportion grew steadily. One may even wonder whether certain Spartiates did not deliberately seek the humiliation of *atimia* in order to make themselves free and to escape from the domination of the city, that "tamer of men."⁵

The Spartiate citizens, then, were not many. To judge the proportion between Equals and Laconians (Inferiors, Perioeci,

¹ Plut., *Lyc.*, 12.

² Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 21.

³ Thuc., v. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 34.

⁵ Sim., ap. Plut., *Ages.*, 1.

and Helots) we lack statistical data, and modern estimates are based on conjectures. For the Perioeci, the relative place which they held in the army cannot be used as a basis of calculation, since the Spartiates, distrustful of their subjects, never armed all the Perioeci which this class could have supplied as hoplites. The ancients seem to have reckoned the ratio between Perioeci and Spartiates at three to one. This is the ratio which Agis took in the IIIrd century, when he tried to reorganize Spartan society by distributing 4,500 lots of land among the Spartiates and 15,000 among the Perioeci.¹ It was apparently this scheme of Agis which gave rise to the supposition that in Lycurgos' time the ratio was the same—9,000 Spartiates and 30,000 Perioeci.² As for the Helots, the ancients regarded them as beyond counting, and it is of them that Thucydides is thinking when he tells us that no city had a more numerous slave population than Sparta.³ At the Battle of Plataea each Spartiate was accompanied by 7 Helots,⁴ but the proportion of 7 to 1, which may be true for the army, is certainly too small for the total population. When Cinadon was seeking for an accomplice, he counted on the Agora 40 Spartiates and 4,000 non-Spartiates.⁵ He may perhaps have exaggerated in reckoning the citizens as only one-hundredth of the population, but it is quite certain that, whatever the figures may have been, the Spartiates were only a very small minority.

If the Spartiate conquerors did not wish to be swallowed up among the conquered peoples, and if they wished to maintain their authority, they could only do so by keeping the strong military organization which had won them victory. The essentially military character of Sparta was what most struck the ancients. The city was not a town, but a camp.⁶ The whole Spartan organization tended to develop one sole virtue—excellence in war.⁷

The Spartiate was, all his life, a soldier subject to the severest discipline. Family life, though the Spartan laws pretended to respect its intimacies,⁸ did not escape military regulation. Religious beliefs, all over Greece, enjoined the perpetuation of the family; it was the further duty of the

¹ Plut., *Agis*, 8.

⁴ Hdt., ix. 28.

⁷ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 22.

² Plut., *Lyc.*, 8.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 3. 5.

⁸ Dion. H., xx. 13. 2.

³ Thuc., viii. 40.

⁶ Plato, *Laws*, ii. 666E.

Spartan to give the State strong soldiers. Not only must he marry, but he must marry a woman capable of bearing sturdy children. King Archidamos was sentenced to a fine for marrying a small woman, who would give Sparta, as the Ephors said, "not kings, but kinglets."¹ It was in order to secure the health and strength to support the toils of motherhood that the girls received physical education together with the boys, scandalizing the rest of the Greeks.² The Athenians laughed at the mannish gait of Lampito,³ but they entrusted their children to Spartan nurses, who were considered the best in Greece.⁴

The child did not belong to his family so much as to the State. At his birth he went before a kind of military medical board, which decided his fate; only those had the right to live who would later make good soldiers. At the age of seven he was brigaded with the other boys of his age, and began his military apprenticeship, under the direction of masters chosen by the State. Bare-footed, clad, summer and winter, in a short, light tunic, fed on a meagre ration which he had to supplement by pilfering, sleeping on a bed of rushes which he gathered himself on the banks of the Eurotas, he grew hardened to weather, fatigue, hunger, and pain. The flogging before the altar of Artemis Orthia, in which we may see either a modified survival of human sacrifice or a magical rite transmitting the vital force of the green branch to man, lost its religious meaning and became a mere competition in endurance. Physical culture was held in high honour; running, leaping, and throwing the disk and javelin made the body strong and supple. Intellectual culture, on the other hand, was neglected; the works of Homer, a few war songs, a few moral poems, that was quite enough literary equipment for a soldier. From eighteen to twenty, the youth completed his military education by route marches and training at the "company school" and on "field service." The young soldiers scoured the countryside continually, for the sake of the training no less than in order to do police duty.

The Spartan remained a soldier all his life. In case of war the Ephors proclaimed the age of the classes called up

¹ Plut., *Ag.*, 2.
² Ar., *Lys.*, 78-84.

² Eur., *Androm.*, 595-600.
⁴ Plut., *Lyc.*, 16.

for service.¹ A man was liable for service up to the age of sixty. As a rule lads under twenty and men over fifty-five were left to guard the country, but if necessary they too went into the field.² Even in peace time the Spartan was subject to the discipline of military life. That he might be able to answer to the first call of the trumpet, he was obliged to live in the town; and he could not travel or reside abroad without special permission.³ He always wore his uniform, the purple-dyed tunic on which blood did not show. Until he was thirty he had to sleep in barracks, and could only meet his wife in secret. At the gymnasium or the *lesche* he was always with the same men. At the evening meal, which had to be taken in common, the same fifteen men sat at a table who in war time would share the same tent and would fight side by side. Each member of the mess contributed his share for the preparation of the dishes laid down by the law, but he might then improve the menu with pieces of venison from his home. The object was not so much to enforce frugal habits as to keep up a feeling of soldierly comradeship. So nobody could be exempted from attendance at the mess; when Agis came home from his victory over the Athenians he could not get leave to dine at home with his wife the first evening.⁴ Everywhere and always the Spartan remained in his fixed place in the military formation to which he belonged in battle.

For the Greeks, the Spartans were masters of the art of war, τεχνίται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.⁵ Yet the Spartan army was not essentially different from other Greek armies, in composition, or in armament, or in tactics. It was composed almost entirely of heavy infantry; the Spartan soldier was a hoplite, armed with spear and sword, wearing helmet, cuirass, and greaves, and protecting himself with a great bronze shield. The heavy infantry was the only arm worthy of a citizen. Service in the cavalry (which, moreover, did not exist before the Peloponnesian War) was left to the less able-bodied and less courageous men,⁶ and the light troops, which skirmished on the flanks, were composed of Helots and mercenaries. The battle formation was

¹ Xen., *Lac.*, xi. 2.

² Thuc., v. 64; Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 17.

³ Plut., *Lyc.*, 27; Agis, 10-11; *Mor.*, 238E; Isocr., *Bus.*, 18; Plato, *Prot.*, 342C-D.

⁴ Plut., *Lyc.*, 12.

⁵ Plut., *Pel.*, 23; cf. Xen., *Lac.*, xiii. 5.

⁶ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 11.

the phalanx, in which the hoplites, formed in files of various depth, supported and protected one another. The Spartan troops were eight ranks deep at Mantinea, in 418,¹ and twelve at Leuctra.² The phalanx was formidable by its cohesion and mass, but, although the Spartans were trained in evolutions, which the other Greeks indeed thought too complicated,³ it was too rigid, and hardly allowed of any offensive movement but the mass charge.

What made the superiority of the Spartan troops was, first, the physical excellence of the soldiers, who had undergone continuous training since their childhood. Still more was it their moral qualities, their respect for discipline, sense of honour, and spirit of sacrifice.⁴ The whole of Spartan education, the tales of heroic deeds, the songs of Tyrtæos, the civic festivals, aimed at inspiring absolute devotion to the city. "It is fair to die, falling in the front rank like a brave man, fighting for your country."⁵ The greatness of Sparta lay in this exaltation of patriotism and duty. Other peoples regarded the Spartan as narrow-minded, obstinate, surly, and slow to understand and to act, and accused him of greed and duplicity. But in his hoplite's armour he showed only virtue—virtue of rather a severe kind, but calm and noble. So the poet saw him, and so his image deserves to stand in history. "Let each man stand square, with his two feet well planted in the ground, with his teeth biting his lip, and his thighs and legs below and his breast and shoulders hid by the belly of his broad shield. Let the stout spear quiver in his right hand, and let his dreadful crest wave above his head. . . . And foot against foot, shield pressing shield, crest close to crest, helmet to helmet, breast to breast, let him fight his man, with the edge of his sword or with his long spear."⁶

3. ECONOMIC LIFE AND SOCIAL CLASSES

The military organization of the Spartan city imposed special conditions on economic life. Nevertheless, historical circumstances did no more than reinforce the effects of natural environment.

¹ Thuc., v. 68.

² Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 12.

³ Xen., *Lac.*, xi. 5.

⁴ Hdt., vii. 104.

⁵ Tyrt., fr. 10.

⁶ Tyrt., fr. 11.

Enclosed between the lofty chain of Taygetos in the west, falling almost sheer to the valley, and the eastern hills rising gradually towards Parnon, Laconia is a depression with a flat bottom—"hollow Lacedæmon."¹ In the middle the Eurotas runs, a slender thread of water on a gravel bed, and traces across the plain a green line of reeds, agnus castus, and oleanders. On each side the cultivable land stretches. Already the *Odyssey* sings of the agricultural wealth of the kingdom of Menelaos.² The soil was fairly rich, and the wheat, though light,³ gave good harvests.⁴ The more stony ground bore olives, and the vine ripened on the well-exposed slopes of the mountain circuit;⁵ at the entrance to the plain the village of Œnus owed its name to the vineyards which surrounded it. Beyond agricultural produce, Laconia had few resources, and they were little exploited. The mountains were clad in forest, and, as in Arcadia, pastoral life could develop there; beasts were raised, not only for meat, but for wool and hides. On Taygetos and Parnon iron deposits were discovered and worked at an early date, but the quarries of marble and porphyry were not appreciated until the Roman epoch, with the vogue of antique red and antique green.⁶ A land of corn, wine, and oil, Laconia was unacquainted with any economic activity but agriculture, and had not the wherewithal to feed industry on a large scale.

It was in an equally bad position for extensive trade, for it had no communications except by land. On the south the plain of Sparta was bounded by a line of heights, through which the Eurotas had been compelled to dig itself a deep, narrow gorge. Beyond this barrier lay the seaboard plain of Helos. This plain ended in a straight, low, swampy, inhospitable coast. The only bays and shelters were at the foot of the mountains, where the coast became rocky. Moreover, the waters about Cape Malea and Cape Tænaron were considered particularly dangerous. Gytheion was the port of Sparta, which established its war harbour and arsenals there, but Gytheion was over 25 miles from the city. To the south was the open sea, and there were no islands beyond

¹ *Il.*, ii. 581.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 4. 5.

³ Strabo, x. 1. 6; *Ath.*, i. 31D.

⁴ *Od.*, iv. 603-5.

⁵ Polyb., v. 19.

⁶ **XXIX**, s.v. *Marmor*.

Cythera to help and attract navigators. So Sparta was a land state. Without a front on the sea, without maritime life, without continuous relations with countries beyond the sea, it could not benefit by the exchange of goods and ideas which extensive foreign trade brings. A spirit of initiative and adventure, quick judgment, and bold decision, all these qualities of the sailor and the explorer were lacking in the Spartan. Like Bœotia, Laconia seemed cut out to be a country of landmen whose horizon was limited by the bounds of the field they tilled.

The effects of the natural character of the country were accentuated by the fact of the conquest. The Spartiate could only meet his military obligations by giving his whole time to the State. In addition to the aversion which all the warlike aristocracies of Greece showed for manual labour, he was subject to the direct action of the law, which formally forbade the citizen any commerce, any craft, any economic activity. Even agriculture was not permitted him. Not only did he not work the land himself—this was the business of small folk everywhere—but he could not even manage and supervise farm work, as the nobles in other Greek countries readily did. The Spartiate was perforce a townsman, and, apart from his guard duty, he only appeared in the country to hunt, the sole distraction allowed him, as a preparation and training for war. The “abundant leisure”¹ which the law imposed on the Spartiate might favour military training, but it was an obstacle to any economic progress.

But the needs of this idle citizen had to be supplied somehow ; others worked instead of him and for him. First of all, the soldiers had to be ensured their daily ration. As soon as they were masters of the country, the conquerors had seized the best land all round Sparta, and, after giving the gods and the chieftains their share, had divided it up among themselves. The less fertile districts in the mountains were left to their old occupants. This was called, in opposition to the “Civic Land” reserved for the citizens, the *Perioikis*, where the Spartiates might also acquire property, but the greater part of the land belonged to the Perioeci. In spite of its fertility, the Civic Land was still not enough. As soon as Laconia was conquered as far as the sea and the mountains,

¹ Plut., *Lyc.*, 24. 2.

the Spartans cast covetous eyes on the neighbouring plain, Messenia, where, as in Laconia, and even more than in Laconia, plough-land, olive-groves, vineyards, and orchards stretched as far as eye could reach. The country was occupied by Dorians who had mingled with the native population. After wars which are known to us only by legendary accounts, the Spartans took possession of it, divided up the land, and, heedless of the ethnic kinship which might bind them to the Dorians of Messenia, reduced the inhabitants to the condition of the most miserable of their subjects, the Helots.

Every Spartiate had now a lot which could feed him ; it remained to make the new situation permanent. All over Greece the patrimonial domain had originally been inalienable and indivisible. Since it belonged less to the individual than to the family, the present holder could not, by disposing of it, defraud his descendants, who were joint owners of it. But everywhere else the family property had been broken up and had given place to the individual property, with which the possessor could do what he liked. Sparta, on the other hand, had adhered to the primitive law. This fact is not completely explained by the traditional, conservative spirit of the Spartans ; it was the State which stepped in, to maintain the inalienability and indivisibility of the domain by legal measures, at a time when the old rules of family law were being forgotten. The Spartan soldier must find on his domain the food which he needed ; division of the patrimony might leave to each heir too little land, and, therefore, insufficient food supplies. The "ancestral portion" thus became, by law, an entailed estate reserved for the eldest son. The younger brothers would manage as they best could on the lands of the *Perioikis*, and, if they were too poor, they would lose the citizenship. For the effectives which were considered necessary, and sufficient if maintained intact, there must always be the same number of lots and the same extent of cultivable land.

The citizen was a land-owner, but he was forbidden to work. The exploitation of the domain was entrusted to agricultural labourers, who tilled it for the landlord ; these were the Helots. The ancients had some difficulty in defining the legal status of the Helots ; sometimes they

assimilate them to slaves,¹ and yet they are well aware that they were not like other slaves. The Helot had, it is true, a master, but this master could not treat him as he might a slave; he could not sell him, nor drive him away, nor ill-treat him, nor kill him; nor could he give him his liberty. Really the Helots belonged to the State; they were slaves of the community, *δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ*,² placed at the disposal of the citizens as farmers. The Helot was not bound to a man, but to a domain; he could not leave it, nor be driven away from it. He was a serf, as there were serfs in other agricultural countries occupied by Dorians, Thessaly and Crete.

As a permanent tenant-farmer, the Helot was in a much better position than a slave's. He had a family, he had a house, and he could attain a certain standard of comfort. For the rent which he paid to his master in produce was reckoned, not on the return of the land, or in proportion to the harvest, but on the requirements, on a generous estimate, of the Spartiate citizen and his family. So this rent was unalterable; it was, for each domain, 82 medimni of barley (about 165 bushels), and a proportionate amount of wine and oil. If we reckon the average area of an "ancestral portion" in the VIth century at about 200 acres, we may suppose that it produced on an average about 825 bushels of corn. Therefore, when the Helot had paid his rent, he would still have an appreciable surplus, even after deducting the amount required for sowing and for feeding the Helots, doubtless numerous, who lived on the domain. Moreover, any improvement was to the profit of the Helot, who could not be asked for more than the rent fixed by the law. Thus, while the income of the Spartiate land-owner was fixed, the Helot might grow rich by his work, not to mention the profit, more or less legal, which he might make in war by plundering.³ In the course of the centuries the wealth of the Helots was seen to swell, while the citizens grew poorer. In the IIIrd century, when Cleomenes proposed to sell liberty to the Helots, he at once found six thousand ready to pay the five minas demanded.⁴ By the life he led and the semi-inde-

¹ Plato, *Alc.*, i. 122D; Strabo, viii. 5. 4.

² Paus., iii. 20. 6; cf. Strabo, viii. 5. 4.

³ Hdt., ix. 80. ⁴ Plut., *Cleom.*, 23.

pendence he enjoyed, the Helot stood, as Pollux says, "half-way between a slave and a free man."¹

And yet the ancients were unanimous in depicting the miserable, despised condition of the Helots and the cruelty of their masters. There were a thousand stories on the subject current in the Greek world, from that of the practice of making Helots drunk to teach the young Spartiates temperance² to that of the drives in which the young men trained for the horrors of war by massacring belated Helots.³ Even the most cautious historians told the story of the brave Helots who were promised freedom by the State and then disappeared mysteriously.⁴ We must allow for the swelling of the legend; we are not even quite certain what the ill-famed *krypteia* was.⁵ No doubt the Helot, who was outside the city, was not protected by the law like the citizen, and the Spartan State, which was hard enough to the citizens, must have been pitiless to the Helots, whom it regarded as its slaves. But it was in the interest of the State itself to treat them wisely.

It needed them for agriculture, and it also needed them for the army. The Helots furnished the light infantry; they did all the auxiliary service. At Platæa there were seven Helots to a Spartiate. The more the number of citizens decreased, the more recourse was had to Helots. Then we find them serving even as hoplites.⁶ It is true that, in respect for the high dignity of the hoplite, the State freed Helots before incorporating them. These freed Helots, the *Neodamodeis*, were almost the only Laconians whom Sparta sent to distant wars; Thibron went to Asia with 1,000 *Neodamodeis*, 4,000 Peloponnesians, and 300 Athenians in the pay of Sparta;⁷ Agesilaos took 30 Spartiates, 2,000 *Neodamodeis*, and 6,000 allies.⁸

The harshness of which the Spartans are accused was, it is said, necessary if they were to keep the Helots under the yoke. Being a minority, the citizens had to break the spirit of the majority by terrorism, and even as it was they lived in constant fear of a Helot rising.⁹ Here, too, we must not exaggerate the hostility of the Helots. They were accustomed

¹ Poll., iii. 83.

² Plut., *Lyc.*, 28.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Thuc., iv. 80.

⁵ **XXIX**, s.v. *Krypteia*.

⁶ Thuc., iv. 80.

⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 1. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 4. 2.

⁹ Thuc., iv. 80.

to live, on the land of the Spartiate, if not in freedom, at least in peace and comparative happiness, and they came to have loyal sentiments towards Sparta. In the face of the enemy they felt themselves one with the city. In 418, at the news that Laconia was in danger of being exposed by the fall of Tegea, the Helots, like the Spartiates, hastened to the rescue.¹ At the time of the Theban invasion, on a promise of freedom, more than 6,000 Helots came up for enrolment in the Spartan ranks.² The fact is, we must make a distinction among the Helots.³ Those of Laconia eventually came to regard themselves as Lacedæmonians. Those of Messenia, on the other hand, were for ever thinking of winning back their independence. It was in Messenia that, after the earthquake of 464, the great Helot rising occurred, which lasted several years, and has been called the Third Messenian War. It was among the Helots of Messenia that, in the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians brought about desertions when they occupied Pylos.

The Helots supplied the Spartiates with their food; Sparta was "an army maintained by peasants."⁴ For his other wants the Spartiate, condemned to idleness, had other auxiliaries—the Perioeci. The Perioeci were free; they lived in the hill country in small towns or villages, which retained a measure of municipal autonomy. Like the citizens, they paid tax and were liable to military service. But they had no political rights, nor full civil rights; they could not marry Spartiate women in lawful wedlock, nor acquire property on the Civic Land. These restrictions, however, did not hamper their activity in all the spheres closed to the citizens. Some of them cultivated the land of the *Perioikis*, but most applied themselves to industry and commerce. The Perioeci manufactured for the Spartiates as the Helots tilled the land. It was first and foremost for the army that the craftsmen worked. The soldiers' uniforms were woven from the wool of Taygetos sheep, and dyed with purple fished off Cythera. The manufacture of arms was naturally very active, and led to the development of the whole metallurgical industry. The blacksmiths worked the iron which came from the mines of Taygetos and Parnon; the bronze-

¹ Thuc., v. 64.

² Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 5. 28-9.

³ Paus., iii. 11. 8.

⁴ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, xxii. 17.

workers were sufficiently skilful to execute the reliefs which adorned the temple of Athene,¹ or to chase a mixing-bowl worthy to be offered to Crœsus;² the founders cast little lead figurines which were deposited *ex voto* in the sanctuaries. For household purposes, the cabinet-makers worked wood, and the potters made vases with a white slip, which would serve as models to the potters of Cyrene.³

Sparta, then, was not wholly without industry, but it was an industry which produced little and was content to supply the local market. Laconia, which had no maritime life, had no foreign trade. It would be an exaggeration to say that nothing entered or left the port of Gytheion, but Sparta held fast to the old principle of agricultural countries, that they should be self-sufficient. The purely local character of economic life was seen in the scarcity of monetary specie. Precious metals were lacking; when the city needed gold for a statue of Apollo it obtained it from Asia Minor.⁴ No doubt we must not believe the mere word of the moralists of later centuries who did nothing but extol the austere poverty of the Spartans. Even in the VIth century there were rich men in Sparta,⁵ and luxury was not unknown there; but, even if the rich Spartiate possessed valuable articles, he did not hoard wealth. Money was almost unknown because it was hardly necessary. Payments were made in kind; it was in kind that the Helot paid his rent and the citizen his contribution to the mess. So, while the other Greek cities issued silver currencies, which, even with the formalities of exchange, were accepted abroad, Sparta was content with an iron coinage, which was heavy and inconvenient, and could only be accepted in Laconia. The moralists honoured Lycurgos for having thus set an obstacle to the increase of riches; in reality there was no deliberate intention, but the natural expression of a self-sufficient, agricultural economy.

4. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND LIFE IN SPARTA

The political institutions of Sparta, like its social and economic life, were based on military organization. The Spartiates reserved the government to themselves, like the

¹ Paus., iii. 17. 2-6.

⁴ Hdt., i. 69.

² Hdt., i. 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 134.

³ XIV, 1912, pp. 102 ff.

ownership of the soil. The body politic was exclusively composed of the minority of conquerors. "Our constitution," Thucydides makes Brasidas say, "is one in which the many do not rule the few, but the few rule the many, owing their power to nothing but their superiority in war."¹ The Greek theorists found the system of government hard to define. When Plato, through the mouth of the Spartan in the *Laws*, would describe the character of the Spartan constitution, he shows how it is at once a monarchy, an aristocracy, a democracy, and even a tyranny.² Aristotle, too, sees in it a combination of monarchy, represented by the kings, oligarchy, represented by the *Gerousia*, and democracy, represented by the Ephors.³ In reality, the political organization of Sparta was that of an army; the command was concentrated in a few hands, discipline enforced obedience in all ranks, and the only difference between one man and another was that of seniority in grade.

Like all Greek cities, Sparta was originally ruled by kings, absolute chiefs invested with religious, military, and judicial powers. The kingship survived, it kept its prestige and enjoyed extraordinary honours, but it had lost its power. First of all, its authority was lessened by the fact that it was divided between two kings. It is probable that Sparta was formed by the union of two groups, each of which kept its chief, but in classical times this duality, the origin of which had been forgotten, was regarded as a precaution against absolute power and a safeguard for the State. It was the tradition that the two lines should remain apart, and indeed no marriage ever united Agiads and Eurypontids. But the rivalry of the two kings might lead to conflicts dangerous to the city; it was to avoid dissensions which would weaken the command that, in the VIth century, the kings were forbidden to go to the army both at the same time.⁴ Moreover, the royal power was limited. The kings were still the religious chiefs of the city;⁵ as priests of Zeus Lacedæmon and Zeus Uranios, they presided over public sacrifices and received a share of all victims.⁶ They also retained jurisdiction in certain cases involving the old family and religious

¹ Thuc., iv. 126.

² Plato, *Laws*, iv. 712D-E.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 3. 10.

⁴ Hdt., v. 75.

⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 9. 2; Xen., *Lac.*, 15.

⁶ Hdt., vi. 56-7.

law.¹ Finally, they were commanders-in-chief of the army ; the Spartan kingship, says Aristotle, is a generalship, hereditary for ever.² But even with the army the king was under the supervision of the Ephors who accompanied him, and in certain circumstances further restrictions might be imposed upon him. When Agis was accused of slackness in his conduct of the war against Argos, it was decided to attach to him a war-council of ten Spartiates, without which he could not lead the army into the field.³ Like all Spartiates, the kings owed obedience to the law ; every month they swore to respect the laws, and the Ephors, in the name of the people, only guaranteed them the enjoyment of their rights so long as they kept their oath.⁴

The kingship, then, was no more than a survival. The power, as in all cities, belonged to the people ; one of the laws which the god of Delphi was said to have dictated to Lycurgos laid down the principle of the sovereignty of the people.⁵ In this sovereignty all Spartiates participated who enjoyed their political rights. The name of Equals given to them had its full significance. In Sparta there was no aristocracy of birth ; the only families regarded as noble were the two royal lines, which both claimed descent from Heracles. Nor was there, for a long time, at least, an aristocracy of wealth ; the system of ownership ensured to all citizens equal incomes from land. Lastly, the military system imposed on all, without distinction, the same outward appearance, the same occupations, the same way of life.⁶ In the uniform which he always wore, in the mess or the barrack-room, the Spartiate was just like his companions. Privilege was allowed to age alone ; a man must be thirty years old to sit in the Assembly of the people, and sixty to sit in the *Gerousia*. Apart from this superiority, personal merit did not count, but only the official post held ; when Lysander reverted to his rank he was treated no better than a plain commissariat clerk.⁷

But to those who had a superior rank complete and unrestricted obedience was due ; the people abandoned the whole of its powers to those whom it designated as its chiefs.

¹ Hdt., vi. 57.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 56 ; Thuc., v. 66 ; Xen., *Lac.*, 15 ; Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 9. 2 ; 10. 1.

³ Thuc., v. 63. ⁴ Xen., *Lac.*, 15. ⁵ Plut., *Lyc.*, 5 ; cf. Tyrt., fr. 4.

⁶ Thuc., i. 6 ; Xen., *Lac.*, 7. ⁷ Plut., *Lys.*, 23.

The Assembly of the people met every month at the new moon. It voted without discussion or amendment on the proposals submitted to it by the *Gerousia*. Since it was almost identical with the army, it had chiefly to decide on the military course of action, and to determine questions of peace and war. Its only real power was to nominate the chiefs of the city, but, once the nomination was made, it surrendered all authority into the hands of the elected.

These were, first, the Council of Elders, the *Gerousia*, composed of twenty-eight citizens, aged over sixty and appointed for life. Under the presidency of the kings, whose votes, however, were of no more weight than those of the other *Gerontes*, the *Gerousia* had complete control over the whole government. It directed foreign policy. It discussed all matters of home policy, and prepared proposals for submission to the Assembly. It might even annul the vote of the Assembly if the latter rejected its proposal. It sat as a law-court in murder cases,¹ and, above all, it tried cases affecting the State; it was before the *Gerousia*, attended by the Ephors, that the kings appeared when accused, and decisions were taken by a majority of votes.²

Secondly, there were the Ephors, elected for a year out of the whole body of citizens;³ one of them served as eponymous magistrate.⁴ As against the royal power, which was hereditary and consecrated by religion, they represented the national sovereignty delegated by the people; the Ephor Endios constantly opposed King Agis.⁵ They alone remained seated in the presence of the kings, before whom all citizens stood;⁶ Agesilaos himself never failed to rise when an Ephor entered the hall where he was giving justice.⁷ The Ephors formed a committee of supervision exercising absolute authority over all citizens; they could arraign kings, suspend magistrates, and sentence magistrates to fines as well as private individuals. They even had considerable legislative power. Since they judged civil cases,⁸ it was for them to interpret the laws, which were mere unwritten traditions, and, under the guise of interpretation, they could make laws themselves. The most serious measure which contributed

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 1. 7.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 3. 10; 6. 15.

⁵ Thuc., viii. 12.

⁷ Plut., *Ages.*, 4.

² Paus., iii. 5. 2.

⁴ Paus., iii. 11. 2; e.g. Thuc., ii. 2.

⁶ Xen., *Lac.*, 15.

⁸ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 1. 7.

to the transformation of Spartan society, the authorization of the deed of gift and the testament, was taken by a mere decree of the Ephor Epitadeus.¹ The power of the Ephors was, therefore, practically unlimited, but it was impersonal and, as it were, anonymous. Very few Ephors played a great part as generals or diplomats, and it does not appear that services rendered or merit already recognized were ever rewarded by the Ephorate. The five Ephors of a year soon after Ægos Potamos are unknown men.² It is probable that, as a rule, the Ephors were simply the executive agents of the *Gerousia*, in which the tradition and political thought of Sparta resided.

The government of Sparta was not so much aristocratic as conservative. The Spartans boasted of their unalterable institutions; the Ephorate alone was not ascribed to Lycurgos. None of the old customs disappeared; the kingship, weak as it was, survived in Sparta when it was no more than a memory in other cities. The whole of politics in Sparta presents an archaic aspect. Just as the Spartans held to their iron money, they considered the ballot unnecessary;³ Aristotle describes the procedure of electing Ephors and *Gerontes* by acclamation as childish.⁴ This conservative spirit was partly due to the fact that the direction of affairs lay with the *Gerousia*, that is, with a council of old men elected for life. Still more was it a consequence of the general situation of Sparta, a military, agricultural city, self-sufficient and shut off from the outer world. Neither the Spartiate soldier nor the Laconian peasant knew the wants and aspirations which the merchant and sailor acquire from contact with foreign peoples and civilizations. In Sparta there was no class of men accustomed to handling business, who would bring into the management of public interests the enterprising, innovating spirit which had made the success of their private undertakings.

But we must not exaggerate the archaism of Sparta; in any case, we must distinguish between epochs. Comparison with Athens may be unjust. "If Sparta was laid waste," says Thucydides, "and only the holy places and the founda-

¹ Plut., *Agis*, 5.

² II, v. 1, 1564. On the Delian inscription, see Dürrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1921-2), vol. i, pp. 7-9. Cf. Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 3. 9-10; 4. 36.

³ Thuc., i. 87; Plut., *Lyc.*, 26.

⁴ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 16, 18.

tions of the buildings were left, one day posterity would find it hard to believe that its power corresponded to its renown. . . . Since the people have not been gathered into a single city, with fine temples and public buildings, but dwell dispersed in villages in the early manner of the Greeks, Sparta would appear to have been less than it really is."¹ Do not let us be influenced by this judgment of an Athenian who had seen the Athens of Pericles. Sparta was not destitute of monuments. In the city were the temple of Artemis Orthia² and that of Athene which, from the decorative reliefs of the Spartan sculptor Gitiadas, was called the "House of Bronze."³ At the gates of the city was the Menelaëion,⁴ and a little further on there was the sanctuary of Amyclæan Apollo, with the statue and the throne which was made by Bathycles of Magnesia, one of the most famous pieces of goldsmith's work of the VIth century.⁵ The foreign artists who came to work at Sparta trained disciples who wrought for choice in wood or bronze; Olympia kept the works of this native school.⁶

Letters were not neglected, any more than the arts. The Spartans were celebrated for their brief, pointed eloquence; their sayings, collected by admirers of Laconism, were sufficiently vivacious and caustic. The Muses had a shrine at Sparta⁷ because music and song had their place in the life of a soldier; the hoplites went out to battle to the sound of flutes, lyres, and citharas,⁸ charged singing the *embaterion*,⁹ and thanked the gods for victory in the strains of the pæan.¹⁰ Choral lyrics lent grace to the festivals of the city, and at the Feast of the Gymnopædia, the splendour of which attracted foreigners,¹¹ the youth of Lacedæmon sang and danced in honour of Apollo.¹² If Sparta did not give birth to poets, she readily welcomed those who came from abroad to take part in her public life; Terpandros of Lesbos, Tyrtæos of Athens, Thaletas of Crete, Alcman of Sardis became the national poets of the city which adopted them.

So Sparta was not, in the VIth century, the city without

¹ Thuc., i. 10.

² Paus., iii. 16. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 17. 2-6; **XLIX**, i, p. 228.

⁴ Paus., iii. 19. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 18-19; **XLIX**, i, p. 230.

⁶ **XLIX**, i, pp. 228 ff.

⁷ Paus., iii. 17. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Plut., *Lyc.*, 21.

⁹ Plut., *Lyc.*, 21; **XXIX**, s.v. *Embaterion*.

¹⁰ **XXIX**, s.v. *Pæan*.

¹¹ Xen., *Mem.*, i. 2.

¹² Paus., iii. 11. 9.

manufactures, art, or literature of the traditional picture. But she was already outside the great intellectual movement of the Greek world. She produced no great artist, no great writer, no great thinker. She was so exclusively military that any non-utilitarian activity was necessarily left almost entirely to foreigners. No doubt she was not yet completely closed; she interested herself in what went on beyond her frontiers, and even outside the Peloponnese; she entered into relations with Crœsus,¹ she went to war with Polycrates.² Her international rôle explains why the Greeks gave her the supreme command in the Persian Wars. But already the inhospitable character of Sparta was becoming marked. The memory still survived of a time when Sparta granted the citizenship fairly easily,³ but Herodotos knew of only one instance of a foreigner being naturalized in Sparta in his time.⁴ More, the Ephors had the right to expel by administrative decree any foreigner, domiciled or in transit, who could not justify his presence.⁵ Sparta was already assuming the warlike, rustic appearance and the stiff and rather surly mien which would gradually, under the action of later events, make the face of the Sparta of tradition.

¹ Hdt., i. 69-70, 82-3; cf. i. 152.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 46-8, 54-6.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 12.

⁴ Hdt., ix. 33-5.

⁵ Xen., *Lac.*, 14; Thuc., i. 144; Plut., *Lyc.*, 27; *Agis*, 10; Hdt., iii. 148.

CHAPTER VI

ATHENS

1. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF ATHENS

THE origins of Athens, like those of Sparta, remain wrapped in mystery. It is not for want of historical investigation. Whereas Sparta gave birth to no historian, and is only known from the evidence of foreign writers, many Athenians devoted themselves to the history of their city. The earliest times in particular gave rise to a whole literature. Of the work of those who were called the Atthidographers, of Androton or Philochoros, for example, only minute fragments survive, preserved by the lexicographers, but we find the echo of them in Plutarch, and we can get an idea of the results which they thought they had obtained from the Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων of Aristotle.

The Atthidographers had gathered together all the legendary tales and traditions, but they made no attempt at criticism, and at the very most sought to give more or less probable interpretations of them. Aristotle does almost the same. He draws inferences from the titles of magistrates; for example, he deduces the functions of the Thesmothetæ from the etymology of the word, without, however, specifying what is to be understood by θέσμος.¹ He notes in the institutions of the present anything which may be an indication or a survival of the institutions of the past.² He borrows much from his predecessors, but he does not try to determine the authority of each of them, and, without preferring one whom he would judge the safest guide, he is content to juxtapose the information which he obtains from them, and to fit it together somehow or other. By this marquetery work of putting bits together he does not succeed in disguising the diversity of origin and the divergences of tendency of the traditions which he has collected.

¹ Arist., Ἀθ. πολ., 3.

² *Ibid.*

The fact is, in Athens, as at Sparta, history was falsified by political parties. In antiquity historical studies were seldom objective and disinterested. They served chiefly to supply parties with arguments and precedents, and those who used them thus had no scruple in accommodating facts to the interests of their cause. Thus, two traditions were formed in Athens, one democratic, the other aristocratic. The democrats claimed to trace democratic institutions back to the earliest days of Athens, making Solon the ideal type of democrat, and not hesitating to ennoble democracy by making it a creation of Theseus. The aristocrats, on their side, also appealed to the past. In 410 one of the promoters of the aristocratic movement proposed that "the laws of their fathers" should be sought out, namely those of Cleisthenes and Solon.¹ With the oligarchic reaction of the end of the Vth century a whole literature of pamphlets was born. Some criticized the institutions of Athens, others fathered their plans of reform upon illustrious ancestors. To the former class the pseudo-Xenophontic treatise on the constitution of Athens belongs; to the latter, the pretended constitution of Dracon, interpolated into the *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων*.²

It seems, however, to be easier to write the history of Athens than that of Sparta. First, the historical documents go back earlier. The most ancient Attic inscriptions date from the VIth century, and some are of interest as telling us about the methods of work of the historians, who came later. Herodotos³ utilizes and reproduces the inscription on the quadriga which was set up from the tithe of the ransom of the prisoners taken during the incursion of Cleomenes.⁴ Thucydides,⁵ to support his statements, quotes the lines on the altar dedicated in the Pythion by Peisistratos, the tyrant Hippias' son, who was Archon at the time.⁶ So, too, the poems of Solon give us contemporary evidence on the Athens of the VIth century. If we compare Solon, a historical personage, whose figure, quite apart from his reforms, stands in the light of day, with Lycurgos, a legendary figure, fading into the mists of mythical times, we feel the difference between the history of Athens and that of Sparta. Further-

¹ Arist., *Αθ. πολ.*, 29.

² *II*, i, 334, Suppl., 334a.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴ Thuc., vi. 54.

⁵ Hdt., v. 77.

⁶ *II*, i, Suppl., 373a.

more, the archaic nature of Spartan institutions, which were crystallized at a very early date, made them difficult for the Greeks themselves to understand. In Athens, political development, from kingship to democracy, took place gradually and regularly, and could be compared with the experience of other democratic cities. It was, therefore, easier for the writers of the Vth and IVth centuries to understand, and it ran less risk of distortion. We, like them, are better able, leaving details of fact aside, to trace the curve of the development.

2. THE NATURAL REGIONS OF ATTICA

The praise of Athens and Attica was a commonplace dear to Athenian poets and prose-writers. For them, Athens presented a particularly brilliant microcosm of all the qualities of the Greek world ; it was " the Greece of Greece." This formula contains a good deal of truth. All that we have said of Greece in general, of the relief of the surface and the quality of the soil, of the rivers and the seas, of the climate and the vegetation, might easily be illustrated by examples taken in Attica. What appears to us the characteristic feature of the land of Greece, extreme variety of landscapes and geographical conditions within a small area, is just what gave Attica its full value and helped to make its superiority over the other countries of Greece. If we ignore minor details, it is easy to recognize in Attica, as the ancients did, three natural regions—the mountains, the plains, and the coast.

Like the rest of Greece, Attica is a mountainous country. Of the total area of about 1,000 square miles, the mountains occupy more than 400 square miles—almost half. The folds of central Greece are continued in the north of Attica ; Cithæron runs westwards in a chain rising 4,625 feet above the plain of Bœotia, and spreads out southwards into a broad massif between the bays of *Ægosthena* and Eleusis, while in the east it is continued by the heights of Parnes, which, from their highest point (4,653 ft.), to the north of the plain of Attica, fall gradually to the Euripos channel in a jumble of hills covered with brush. Cithæron and Parnes mark the natural frontier of Attica ; this was the line of

defence, with forts at intervals, Eleutheræ, Phyle, Panacton, Lepsydrion, Deceleia. But these mountains were not impassable barriers. The gorge of Dryos Cephalaë, cutting through the ridge of Cithæron, was taken by the road from Athens to Plataea. The high basin of Drymos, squeezed between Cithæron and Parnes, gave a passage to the road from Athens to Thebes. Lastly, the col of Deceleia enabled the road from Athens to Oropos to cross Parnes. Nothing prevented the Athenians from crossing the watershed and spreading over the northern slope. Athens drew Plataea to her side, disputed the plain of Drymos with Bœotia, and fought for the possession of Oropos, which was her landing-place on the side of Eubœa.

Inland, the mountains divided Attica into separate compartments. In the south, Ægaleos, a detached end of Parnes, was continued in the hills of Salamis. A second, parallel fold had been broken up by subsidence and erosion so that only isolated vestiges of it remained, such as the hills of Athens. In the east, separated from one another by a depression along which the road ran to Marathon, were Pentelicon and Hymettos, which were similar in structure and both belonged to geological formations different from those of the northern ranges. The former was continued south-eastwards by a succession of heights along the east coast; the latter ran due south, and its spur, Cape Colias, rose more than 300 feet above the sea. Lastly, in the extremity of the peninsula, there was the isolated mass of Laureion, which, with its more confused plan and its less accentuated relief, did not look mountainous except from the sea, to which it presented a series of steep promontories.

The Athenians obtained various resources from their mountains. On the summits, the forests, much more extensive then than now, furnished wood for fuel and for building. On the lower slopes, the brush fed flocks of sheep and herds of goats; the sheep of Deceleia gave a wool which was especially prized.¹ The aromatic plants plundered by the bees scented the honey of Hymettos. More important were the riches which lay under the ground. In the rest of Greece proper there was nothing comparable to the mines of Laureion, that "spring of silver"² which flowed without

¹ Thuc., vii. 27; Alciph., iii. 41. 1.

² Æsch., *Pers.*, 238.

failing into the Athenian treasury.¹ The quarries which were worked in all the mountains supplied building materials. For private dwellings, stones found on the spot were considered good enough. The hills of Athens yielded the limestone, split in small pieces, of which the walls of houses were made,² and those of the Peiræus gave the ἀκτίτης λίθος,³ a porous tufa, which was in demand for its lightness and the ease of working it. But for public edifices the Athenians wanted choice materials, and did not hesitate to go further in search of them. From the neighbourhood of Eleusis came a fine-grained limestone of a dark blue colour which permitted polychrome effects.⁴ From Hymettos came a hard, blue-grey travertine, which was very popular in archaic times.⁵ Last but not least, in the quarries of Pentelicon, the blocks of marble were cut which were demanded by architects and sculptors.⁶ We must add the beds of clay which made ceramic industry possible in all its forms; the clay of Cape Colias, at the foot of Hymettos, was considered the finest.⁷

The mountains bounded the small plains which were the district of cultivation and human aggregations. In the west, between Cithæron and Ægaleos, the alluvial Thriasian Plain stretched to the sea, seven miles wide and five miles deep. In the centre, framed by Ægaleos, Parnes, Pentelicon, and Hymettos, the plain of Athens deserved, by its extent—fourteen miles by six—no less than by its agricultural value, to be called simply the Plain, τὸ Πεδίον. Further east, between Pentelicon, Hymettos, and Laureion, lay the Mesogæa, about seven miles square, with a soil of red schistose clay, very good for agriculture. Finally, between the ramifications of Pentelicon and those of Parnes, there was the alluvial plain of Marathon, a narrow strip along the coast, about seven miles in length. Each of these small plains, in spite of its ring of mountains, was in easy communication with the neighbouring districts.

The agricultural value of the plains of Attica was variously esteemed. Compared with Bœotia or Laconia, Attica seemed rather unfertile.⁸ The soil of Attica was accused of

¹ See above, p. 38.

² CX, p. 2.

³ See above, p. 37.

⁴ Thuc., i. 2; Strabo, viii. 1. 2.

⁵ XVII, xx (1895), pp. 164–5, figs. 1–3.

⁶ CX, pp. 3, 256.

⁷ Suid., s.v. Κολίας, Κωλιάδος κεραμῆες.

⁸ CX, p. 283.

being dry, light, stony, and difficult to work.¹ An Attic district produced more, it was said, if it contained mines than if it was sown with corn.² But there were other judgments, more favourable. It was said that Attica was a match for any country, both for agriculture and for stock,³ and that its fat, productive soil⁴ was capable of bringing wealth to those who tilled it.⁵ The proverbial richness of the plain of Eleusis caused the legend of Demeter to be localized there, and the deme of Phlya was supposed to owe its name to the abundance of its harvests.⁶ The fact is, we must distinguish between districts and forms of cultivation.

Attica was certainly not a corn-producing country. Barley, which indeed was believed to be indigenous,⁷ found conditions more favourable than wheat,⁸ and occupied far more ground. In 329 wheat represented less than 8% of the corn harvested in Attica.⁹ Only in the Thriasian Plain did wheat gain a little on barley, and even there it was not 15% of the total. In broken country like the hills of Salamis only barley-fields were to be seen. The total production of corn was small, and far below the wants of the population.¹⁰

On the other hand, Attica had much more remunerative crops, the olive and the vine. The olive was of such value to the Athenians that they regarded it as a gift of Athene herself; in the plain of Athens the Goddess owned olive-trees which no one might cut, and the oil of them was given as the prize to the victors in the Panathenæa. Solon issued regulations for the planting of olives,¹¹ and authorized the exportation of the oil.¹² Peisistratos in his turn encouraged olive-growing.¹³ In the VIth century the great olive-woods were formed which covered the plain near Athens. The vine grew almost everywhere, both on the plains¹⁴ and on the lower slopes of the mountains.¹⁵ The deme of Icaria, where Peisistratos owned vineyards, was said to be the place where Dionysos had revealed the cultivation of the vine to men.¹⁶

¹ Arist., *Probl.*, xx. 20; Schol. on Ar., *Plut.*, 224, 283; Schol. on Dem., 743-4.

² Xen., *Vect.*, i. 5.

³ Plato, *Critias*, 110E.

⁴ Ar., fr. 162; Xen., *Vect.*, i. 2-3.

⁵ Xen., *Æc.*, xvi. 9.

⁶ Cf. Ael., *V. H.*, iii. 41.

⁷ Plato, *Menez.*, 237E.

⁸ Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 8. 2.

⁹ *II*, ii, 834b; *XI*, vii (1883), p. 387; viii (1884), p. 194.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 46-7.

¹¹ *Plut.*, *Sol.*, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³ Dion Chrys., xxv. 281.

¹⁴ *CVII*, pp. 12, 18, 23.

¹⁵ *CVII*, pp. 20, 21, 29.

¹⁶ Sim., fr. 221; Luc., *Dial. Deor.*, xviii. 2; *Papers of the American School*, v, pp. 77 ff.

The importance which the worship and festivals of this god assumed in Attica is a proof of the great part played by the vineyard in the economy of Athens. Vineyards and olive-groves—these were the agricultural riches of Attica. It is for these in particular that the Clouds promise the Athenians their help,¹ and it is they which are symbolized by an Attic vase which shows, on one side, a sale of oil, and, on the other, Dionysos holding a vine-stock.²

So, not to mention the vegetable gardens³ and the orchards, which were said to give better fruit than any others,⁴ Attica presented the variety of crops which was characteristic of Greek lands. Corn and trees were found together, as always;⁵ the ephebi swore to defend the wheat, the barley, the vines, and the olives of Attica.⁶ The property of Phænippus in the Mesogæa yielded barley and wine, and contained a whole tract of forest or bushes which furnished firewood.⁷ On an estate in Myrrhinus corn, vegetables, fruit-trees, and vines were to be found.⁸ The deme of the Peiræus rented a property on which it was possible, not only to cultivate fields and grow trees, but to graze beasts.⁹ Although the plantations gained on the arable land, Attica never contained estates on which one single kind of farming was practised.

The third region of Attica, the coast, had few resources in itself. The dunes and salt land remained waste, covered with reeds, thistles, and asphodels. The only exploitation was that of the salt marshes, the products of which were greatly prized for the table;¹⁰ the production of salt was, however, insufficient, and Athens had to import it, especially from Megara, for pickling.¹¹ The importance of the coast lay in its maritime life. Two sides of the triangle of Attica are washed by the sea. The third and shortest side, on which the peninsula is joined to the continent, is about thirty miles long as the crow flies; the two long sides, that is to say, the coasts, are each about forty-five miles long, from angle to angle. Even this figure gives a very imperfect notion of the reality, since it does not take the indentations of the shore into account.

¹ Ar., *Clouds*, 1119–25 ² L, iii, p. 810.

³ Hesych., s.v. *Λακιάδες*; II, iii. 61A; iii. 50.

⁴ Arist., *Probl.*, xx. 20.

⁵ See above, p. 44.

⁶ Dem., *Phæn.*, 1040–1, 1045.

⁷ II, ii. 1059,

⁸ XXIX, s.v. *Sal*,

⁹ Plut., *Alc.*, 15.

¹⁰ II, ii. 660.

¹¹ Ar., *Ach.*, 760.

Moreover, the whole coast is not equally indented. The plains end in low shores, describing wide arcs, and sometimes lined with swamps or dunes. This type of coast, which is unfavourable to maritime life to-day, was, on the contrary, just what the shipping of antiquity wanted—beaches where boats could easily be hauled up on the sand. It was for this reason that the districts of Eleusis and Marathon were visited by foreign mariners very early, and were believed to be among the parts of Attica first inhabited. But, even in those days, sailors were attracted by other moorings, namely, inlets which were well sheltered from the wind, especially if an island protected them from the open sea. Such, for example, were the two harbours of Thoricos, on either side of a peninsula which bore the acropolis, protected by the natural breakwater of the island of Helene; and Thoricos was one of the sites earliest occupied, one of the gates by which civilizations from over the sea began to enter Attica. Bays came into ever greater demand when big ships ceased to be hauled ashore, save in exceptional cases, and remained in deep water. In classical times the indentations of the coast of Attica made it possible to fit up several harbours. First, there were the harbours of Athens, namely, the Peiræus, Zea, and Munychia, which superseded the earliest landing-place of Athens, the beach of Phaleron; then there was the bay of Sunion, at the far point of Attica, from which the Athenian squadron watched the sea-routes; and, on the other coast, there were the old port of Thoricos, which remained the outlet of the mining country, and the port of Prasiæ, where the Athenian Theories embarked for Delos.

Attica was also favoured in its position. At the extremity of the Greek mainland, it ran out into the sea in a point,¹ and, as it were, reached out to the Cyclades. It was the link between the Greek mainland and the Greek islands. When Pericles advised the Athenians to behave in their city as if on an island,² he was only carrying to an extreme, in view of the war, the dominant characteristic of Attica.

It was the dominant characteristic, but not the only one. The special quality of Athens was that she was at once an agricultural and a maritime city. At different times, one

¹ Plato, *Critias*, 111A.

² Thuc., 1. 143.

aspect of Athenian life or another seems to throw the rest into the shade, but her different forms of activity, corresponding to different natural regions, never ceased to supplement and counterbalance one another.

3. DIFFERENT POPULATIONS AND WAYS OF LIFE

Athenian writers have extolled the merits of the inhabitants as loudly as those of the country. According to them, the Athenians were endowed with every virtue. The funeral oration placed in Pericles' mouth by Thucydides¹ is the most magnificent expression of that national pride, which, in our eyes, is impossible without a touch of hyperbole.

The greatest pride of the Athenians was that they were autochthonous.² "We dwell in a land," says Isocrates, "from which we have not driven other peoples, which we did not find uninhabited, to which we did not come as emigrants, a medley of many races. Our origin is so noble and so pure that we have never ceased to possess this land of which we were born. Natives of it, we can salute it by the same names as our nearest kin, for we, alone of all the Greeks, can call it nurse, country, and mother."³ It is impossible to accept such a claim, which was even contradicted by Athenian traditions. The great families did not blush to own a foreign ancestry. The Alcmaeonids claimed descent from Pylians which had come to Attica from Messenia under the leadership of Nestor's descendants;⁴ the forbears of the Gephyræans, to whom Harmodios and Aristogeiton belonged, were said to have been Phœnician companions of Cadmos, who settled in Tanagra, and then in Eretria, before receiving the citizenship of Athens.⁵ The Athenians gloried in the generosity with which they had always offered a refuge to oppressed and outlawed peoples.⁶ If we can draw no certain inference from these legendary stories, we must at least conclude that in the eyes of the Athenians themselves the population of Attica was formed of successive mixtures and additions.

In Neolithic times Attica was inhabited by peoples which, on the Acropolis of Athens, at Eleusis, at Thoricos, have left the same traces as in the rest of Greece—axes of polished

¹ Thuc., ii. 34-6.

² Hdt., vii. 161; Thuc., i. 2; ii. 36.

³ Isocr., *Paneg.*; cf. Plato, *Menex.*, 237B-C.

⁴ Paus., ii. 18. 8-9.

⁵ Hdt., v. 57-61.

⁶ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 5. 45.

stone, obsidian arrow-heads, and rude vases of greyish clay with geometrical decoration. At Thoricos there are even remains of dwellings and of graves dug under the flagged floors of the houses. Here as elsewhere, these first inhabitants were given the name of Pelasgians.¹ The old bastion in front of the Acropolis, the "Stork Wall," *Pelargikon*, was turned by false etymology into a Pelasgian fortress,² and beautiful stories were invented to explain the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Attica and their settlement in Lemnos,³ and at the same time to justify the pretensions of Athens to that island. These "Pelasgian" populations spoke a "barbarian"—that is, non-Hellenic—tongue.⁴ The place-names of Attica preserved the trace of pre-Hellenic languages; the names in *ιθος*, *ητρος*, and *ισος*, applied to mountains (Hymettos, Lycabettos), to villages (Sphettos, Probalinthos), and to streams (Cephissos, Ilissos), belong to this set of place-names, which was spread over both shores of the Ægean, and, though it is difficult to ascribe it to a particular ethnical group, is anterior to the settlement of the Hellenes in Greek lands.

The early populations of Attica received the first seeds of civilization from outside. It was the first land which the ships of the islands reached in the direction of the continent, and sailors found there landings such as they preferred, with a beach on which to haul their boats high and dry, a watering-place at which to fill their water-skins, a plain where corn or cattle were to be had, and a headland from which they could watch land and sea. The influences from overseas, to which the legends of Egyptian Cecrops and Cretan Minos point, have surer witnesses in the Mycenæan monuments. The Acropolis of Athens was a fortress comparable to Mycenæ and Tiryns, with its *megaron* and its thick surrounding wall.⁵ The rock tombs of Spata and the bee-hive tombs of Thoricos, Menidi, and Eleusis contained Mycenæan jewels and vases. At Eleusis there were even objects of Egyptian origin, which might lead us to believe the legend of Cecrops, if they were not to be regarded rather as articles imported from Egypt by Ægæo-Cretans.

¹ Hdt., i. 56; viii. 44; cf. vii. 94.

² *CX*, pp. 107 ff; cf. Strabo, ix. 1. 18.

³ Hdt., ii. 31; vi. 137-9.

⁴ Hdt., i. 57.

⁵ *CX*, pp. 50, 237.

Who were the "Mycenæans" of Attica? Pre-Hellenic aborigines or Hellenic invaders? It is very probable that the Cretan influences which are reflected in the Mycenæan civilization of Attica were first brought to bear on the Pelasgians, and continued to make themselves felt after the first Hellenes settled in the country. The "strong dwelling of Erechtheus"¹—that is to say, the Mycenæan palace on the Acropolis—was inhabited by a native prince before it was occupied by an Achæan prince. For, in spite of the Athenians' boast of autochthony, it cannot be doubted that Attica received a Hellenic population. Whatever the numbers of these new-comers may have been, they represented a civilization which was strong enough for them to be able to impose their language on the natives.² Nor is there sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition which connects the Achæans of Attica with the Ionians. No doubt we cannot be very precise about the reality which lay beneath this term "Ionians"; the most famous of the Ionians, those of Asia, were too mixed in race for it to be possible to look for their racial characteristics. It is, however, probable that the Achæans who settled in Attica belonged to the same group as those who occupied Eubœa and the Cyclades, and that it was this group which also formed the core of the Ionian population of Asia. The Athenians had many similarities to the peoples described as Ionians. They spoke a dialect of the same family.³ They were divided into four tribes, whose names, which were said to be derived from those of the sons of Ion,⁴ reappeared in all the Ionian cities. They kept the religious festivals which were said to be proper to the Ionians, such as the Apaturia.⁵ It was natural that the Ionians of Asia should imagine that they saw, in the powerful Athens of the Vth century, the mother city of their own cities.

Mycenæan civilization gave place in Attica to another civilization, which is chiefly revealed to us by the cemetery of the Dipylon. Two new elements may be taken as characteristic of this civilization—iron weapons, and pottery with Geometric decoration. Of particular value to us are the great vases which were set up on graves, both to mark them

¹ *Il.*, ii. 546-7; *Od.*, vii. 81. ² *Hdt.*, i. 57. ³ *XLV*, pp. 79, 87, 227.

⁴ *Eur., Ion*, 1575-88; *Hdt.*, v. 66.

⁵ *Hdt.*, i. 147.

to passers-by and to receive the libations offered to the dead. For over their sides vast compositions were spread, which, in spite of the geometrical simplification of forms and the stiffness of attitudes, make many scenes of Athenian life vivid to us. The painter naturally represented burial ceremonies,¹ the laying out of the dead man or the funeral procession, but he wished also to record the exploits of the great personage whose tomb was adorned by his masterpiece, and we find battles by land and sea, the *mêlée* of warriors or the collision of ships, with bodies strewn the ground or drifting in the waves.² Two pictures above all stand out from the rest: the ship, driven by two banks of rowers, smashing the enemy ship with her ram, and the warrior, standing with his driver on his two-horsed chariot, coated in iron, helmet on head, shield on arm, spear in hand.

Although there was no sudden abolition of one civilization by another, and many survivals of the earlier appear amidst the later, there are enough new elements for us to ask whether they were brought by new peoples. The undisputed belief of antiquity was that Attica had not been touched by the last invasion, that of the Dorians. The outlying situation of the country makes this probable, but there is nothing to disprove or to confirm the tradition with certainty. The argument from language is insufficient; for the Dorians are believed to have invaded Thessaly and Bœotia, without the Æolian dialects previously spoken there disappearing. On the other hand, the objects found in the Dipylon tombs might belong to the Dorians; it is almost a rule for the archæologists to identify Dorian and Geometric. We have already said that this association is somewhat hypothetical.³ But even if we suppose it proved that the Dorians introduced iron arms and Geometric ornament into Greece, we cannot infer that they necessarily invaded Attica. The Dorians were at the gates of Athens, in Bœotia, in the Megarid. From there Dorian influences might have come in without conquerors actually occupying the country. In classical times Athens was at the meeting-place of Ionian and Dorian fashions; was it not the same in archaic times? The civilization of the Dipylon is not homogeneous. Interment is, as in Mycenæan times, the general rule, but there

¹ L, i, pp. 217, 236. ² L, i, pp. 217, 237. ³ See above, p. 68.

are also cases of burning the dead, a custom which is attributed to the peoples from the north. The armour has the same mixed character; on the same vase there are warriors with the Mycenæan shield scooped out on either side, and others with the round shield of the hoplite.¹

What further strengthened the tradition was that there was no trace in classical Athens of a recent conquest. When the Athenians boasted of their autochthony, it was, as usual, to show how unlike they were to the Spartans, and how superior. The Spartans, in the eyes of the Athenians, were merely a mixed rabble of immigrants, only too glad to have at last found some land in Laconia. Could these vagabonds and late-comers dare to compare themselves to the noble Athenians, who had for ever been in possession of the land which had given them birth? Spartan society, with its Equals and Pericæci and Helots, kept the mark of conquest. There was nothing like that at Athens; there might be a nobility, but there were no subjects or serfs, no victors or vanquished, no foreign conquerors or conquered natives. The whole population of Athens was homogeneous and of the same origin. If there had been invasions—and we can hardly doubt the coming of the Hellenes and their union with the native pre-Hellenic inhabitants—they occurred in a past so distant that no memory of them remained in tradition, and no survival in archaic Attica. The groups into which the population of Attica had been divided from the beginning were differentiated by their way of life, and thus corresponded to the great natural regions.

Naturally, it was the plains which first attracted inhabitants, and it was here that the appropriation of the ground began. While the brush and the forest, the pasture-land, remained open to all, the fields, where corn grew, became private property. It would be more correct to call it family property. The primitive group was the *γένος*, the family in the wide sense of the word, that is to say, all those who claimed descent from the same ancestor, the eponym of the *genos*, and were recognized by their common household worship. The *genos* was a unit, and all its members lived grouped on the estate which was the collective property of the *genos*. The dwellings and farm-buildings were grouped

¹ XLVII, vii, fig. 138.

so as to form a village. Most of the villages of Attica bore the name of the *genos* of which they had originally been the estate. The collective property of the *genos* was necessarily indivisible and inalienable. But gradually Attica, like the rest of Greece, passed from family ownership to individual ownership. The old rules of early law were preserved only in the most ancient families, those which had first farmed the more fertile land of the plains. The antiquity of their race and the prestige of their family and religious organization made the great land-owners of the plains an aristocracy; they were the Eupatrids, the "well-born." At the same time the system of indivisible ownership maintained their wealth. Upholding the old customs and owning the best land, noble and rich, the *Pediæans* formed an aristocratic and conservative party.

Outside the plains, regions less favoured gave a refuge to those who had no place in the aristocratic γένη. They were a mixed population, regarded as inferior, and comprised all who had been driven out of the traditional framework by their legal condition or their adventurous spirit—illegitimate children, younger sons not content with a meagre share of the collective patrimony, criminals whom their family had cast out in order to dissociate itself entirely from a guilty man. It was among these lower classes that the great landlords obtained the free labour which they needed, the hired workers, the *Thetes*. Apart from operations which required extra help, such as the harvest or the vintage, stock-breeding in particular needed men. The herdsmen lived a great part of the year in the mountains; they drove the large cattle into the forest, and grazed the sheep and goats and fattened the pigs in the brush. Beside the herdsmen, other poor men sought a livelihood on the mountains. Many of those who were excluded from the normal, traditional framework of the *genos* were too fond of their liberty to serve the great landlords for wages; they kept a few beasts of their own and, above all, they made an estate for themselves by clearing the waste. It was first to clear the forest, and afterwards to exploit it, that the woodmen and charcoal-burners worked. The land won from the forest or the brush was the worst. Hard work made it yield but little; the peasant, whom Peisistratos saw hacking at the stones in his field on Hymettos,

harvested nothing but ills and toils, he said.¹ Moreover, the property of these small folk was not subject to the laws of the Eupatrids; the inheritance, divided among the sons, split up the estate and made the portion of each very small. Thus there was formed in the mountains a population which followed different occupations, but was all alike in the meanness of its condition, herdsmen, wood-cutters and charcoal-burners, and small, needy land-owners. To these we should add the quarrymen and miners, were it not that these especially arduous employments were at an early date given over to slaves. All these mountain people were poor, and it was not without envy that they looked at the fertile estates and rich landlords of the plain. They would readily accept radical measures placing them in possession of the good land and distributing wealth more equally. The *Diacrians* were a violent, revolutionary party, ready to follow a leader who would, even in his own interest, conduct a war against the aristocracy.

Attica was not only an agricultural country; it was also a maritime country. In the days when the Dipylon vases were made, Athens already had a fleet, and it is highly probable that the most ancient administrative divisions, the Naucraries, had as their object the organization of the war navy. Overseas trade was no less ancient, and it developed rapidly. Agriculture furnished little for export; the corn harvest was already below requirements, and the peasants could sell only their oil and wine abroad. Therefore manufactures were necessary, which, after feeding the local market, should be capable of supplying articles for export. So Athenian industry was likewise very ancient. The potters of the Cerameicos were already making the great Dipylon vases, the execution of which must have called forth a technical skill which astonishes craftsmen to-day,² On Ægaleos, the villages of Eupyridæ, Cropidæ, and Peleces, which had a common religious association,³ seem to have owed their names to a very ancient metallurgical industry. In close connexion with the population of sailors, therefore, there was a population of craftsmen; both lived by marine trade, and consequently well deserved their name of "Shore

¹ Arist., 'Aθ. πολ., 16.

² L, i, p. 215.

³ XVII, xii (1887), p. 87; XXIX, s.v. *Tetrapolis*.

Folk." Both had the qualities fostered by their way of life—a spirit of enterprise which was not afraid of innovations, a practical sense formed by business, and a feeling of solidarity which connected the interests of each with the interests of all. But their condition varied. There were plain workmen who hired the strength of their arms just like the agricultural labourers, and, like them, were recruited among the Thetes, and there were merchants who grew rich, especially when the introduction of money made movable wealth possible. But all, rich and poor, sailors and ship-owners, workmen and manufacturers, were employed together in the same economic work. Their occupations and way of life were still too much the same to divide them into opposing or hostile classes; their constant and necessary collaboration maintained concord between them. Thus they stood half-way between the rich men of the plain and the disinherited of the mountains. The *Paralians* formed a moderate party, capable of understanding and desiring useful innovations, but kept within reasonable bounds by the balanced spirit of the business man.

These three groups—*Pediæans*, *Diacrians*, and *Paralians*—appear in the VIth century as political parties,¹ but at first they are groupings of the population distributed geographically, and indebted to this localization for their way of life, their economic activity, and, consequently, their ideas and their aspirations.² Between these groups there are differences, but there is no opposition; on the contrary, they need one another. The unity of the city of Athens will be made by the progressive fusion of the different elements of which it is composed.

4. EVOLUTION TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

It was political unity that was achieved first. The rural community, the *κώμη*, which grew up around the domains of the *genos*, originally formed a small state, isolated and independent. Tradition has preserved the memory of wars between one village and another, and in the Vth century the

¹ Arist., 'Αθ. πολ., 13.

² This division of the population seems so closely connected with geographical conditions that it is said to reappear in the present groups of Greeks, Albanians, and Vlachs. *CXI*, p. 259.

custom forbidding any marriage between the people of Pallene and those of Agnus¹ still recalled the exclusiveness and hostility of the old groups. However, neighbouring villages might find themselves brought together, either for religious reasons, all the inhabitants of a canton meeting on feast-days at the same sanctuary, or for economic reasons, when the village, originally self-sufficing, came to have a surplus to exchange for what it lacked, or for military reasons, when villages combined for a time to repel a common enemy. In this way the earliest associations of villages were formed, the memory of which survived in classical times. It was thus that the plain of Marathon had achieved its unity by the union of the four villages of Marathon, Tricorynthos, Œnoe, and Probalinthos. The Marathonian *Tetrapolis* always kept its assemblies, its magistrates, and its many varied cults.²

Of the villages of Attica, some necessarily assumed a predominant place. The πόλις, perched on a rocky height and surrounded with ramparts, attracted by its military strength the population, who felt safe within the walls or at the foot of the stronghold. Thus were born the first urban agglomerations, which were able to command more extensive groups than the old associations of villages. Finally, unity was completed when all groups acknowledged the same capital.

When, and how, was this unity achieved—the *synœcism*, as the Greeks called it? It is very hard to say exactly. Its date was placed in the distant past of mythical times, in the reign of the legendary Theseus. The *Catalogue of Ships*, which knows only the city of Athens in Attica,³ whereas it mentions other Laconian towns beside Sparta,⁴ would witness to the great antiquity of the synœcism, but the passage about the Athenians may be an alteration made in the time of the Peisistratids. The position of the town of the Cecropids, commanding the richest of the Attic plains from its rock, near enough to the coast to be able to use the sea-ways, but far enough to feel secure from sudden inroads of pirates,⁵ sufficiently explains how it became, under the name of Athens, the capital of the whole country. On the other hand, the rôle which legend ascribes to Theseus, the hero of Marathon, leads us to suppose that the movement towards

¹ Plut., *Thes.*, 13.

² **XXIX**, s.v. *Tetrapolis*.

³ *Il.*, ii. 545–56.

⁴ *Il.*, ii. 581–90.

⁵ Cf., Thuc., i. 7.

unity started from the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which was already formed, and was strong enough to attach the other plains to itself. Sometimes existing groups agreed to combine, sometimes the weaker were conquered by the stronger. Eleusis, which owed its importance, not only to the fertility of its soil, but still more to the deities and rites which were its special possession, only came into the city, according to tradition, after long struggles, at a time when all the rest of Attica recognized a single head. The villages continued to be inhabited as in the past, but they ceased to be states. The local Prytaneia, where the sacred fire of the village burned, were replaced by a single Prytaneion, and the magistrates of the villages gave up their power to the magistrates of the capital.¹ The inhabitants of Attica became citizens of Athens.

When the city had attained political unity, the parts of the population were not intimately mingled, and, both by their way of life and by their legal condition, they still formed separate classes. The dominant class was that of the Eupatrids. They held the political power. Originally the city had been under a king, who was priest, judge, and chief in war; but the Eupatrids, who formed his council and court of justice, limited his absolute power in the name of traditional custom, and, in Athens as in the other Greek cities, kingship had to give place to aristocracy. One after the other, the military and judicial functions were taken from the king, who kept only his religious attributes. By the second half of the VIIth century, the nine Archons governed the city, and a council composed of the former Archons, the Areopagus, delivered justice and exercised supreme supervision over public affairs. The office of Archon, the term of which was gradually reduced to one year, was open to all Eupatrids, even that of King Archon, which was originally reserved for members of the royal family, and the Archonship was open to no one else. Through the Archonship and the Areopagus the Eupatrids were the rulers of the State.

Their economic power was no less than their political power. They were the great land-owners, whose estates were not split up, but, on the contrary, tended to absorb neighbouring estates. Not only did they hold the greater

¹ Thuc., ii. 15.

part of the land, but they reduced the small farmers, who had to call on their help, to the most miserable condition. As security for the debts which they contracted, poor men pledged their person or their land. Those more fortunate remained as tenants on the farms which had belonged to them, and cultivated them for their creditors. Yet their position must have been hard enough, if it is true that they had to deliver to their creditor five-sixths of their harvest. It looked as if, under the political and economic tyranny of the Eupatrids, a serf class would form in Attica, even more wretched than the Helots of Laconia.

But here the Shore Folk stepped in. The poor Athenian had the advantage of being able to live elsewhere than in the country. He escaped from dependence on the great landlords, because he could ask for work and a livelihood from the merchants, the manufacturers, the ship-owners. Still more, he would find protectors among these same people. Among the Paralians there were rich men, and these rich men naturally demanded a share in the government. They considered that their movable wealth should give them the same political prerogatives as landed wealth gave the Eupatrids. Against these latter, they had the backing of the popular classes, who also had their grievance against the aristocracy, both the town Thetes, who were their fellow-workers, and the country Thetes, whose independence was even more threatened. So it was by the manufacturers and traders that the political development of Athens was prepared. Through the whole of Athenian history, there would be a connexion between the progress of trade and industry and the progress of democracy.

The first stage towards democratic government was passed with Solon. Chosen as arbiter between the parties, in order to restore peace and concord in Athens, Solon took rapid action, first liberating the debtors who were oppressed by their creditors. Those who had been sold as slaves were ransomed; those who had fled abroad were allowed to return to Athens; land which had been pledged was released from all dues, and the posts which indicated the creditor's seizure of the estate were torn from the ground.¹ The abolition of debts "shook off the burden" which crushed

¹ Solon, fr. 36.

farmers who were in debt. But Solon did still more in preparing the way for the future. He prevented any future formation of a serf class by abolishing the seizure of the person. He stopped the development of the great property by allowing wills and sales; the estate of the Eupatrid, no longer inalienable, was split up as non-noble estates already were. Finally, he organized Athenian society on a new principle. Superseding rights of birth by rights of property, he distributed the Athenians into four census classes. It is true that the census represented landed wealth; it was by the number of measures of corn, wine, and oil which he harvested on his estate that the land-owner was ranked in one of the first three classes, so that the Eupatrids, with their vast domains, formed the first class, and therefore still held the Archonship, which was reserved for that class. But the reform was full of possibilities for future development. Every Athenian might, by growing rich, rise to a higher status, and, since land was no longer inalienable, he could buy estates, which would entitle him to a position in the higher classes. One Anthemion dedicated a statue of a horse on the Acropolis, to thank the gods that he had risen from the class of Thetes to that of Knights.¹ The archaic elements which still existed in Solon's method of reckoning wealth were bound to disappear with the development of money economy. Shortly after Solon's time, income was no longer assessed in kind, but in money, and then, by a further advance, the census ceased to refer to landed income alone, and included a man's whole income, of whatever kind it might be. The census system was extended from landed wealth to movable wealth, to the great advantage of those citizens, ever more numerous, who owed their fortune to trade or industry.

And, indeed, the reforms of Solon coincided with the economic progress of Athens. Solon, who, it was said, had restored his fortune in trade, had set himself to develop the wealth of the city. He had authorized the export of oil, and facilitated commercial relations by causing a new system of weights and measures to be adopted, conforming with that of the great trading cities, such as Corinth, the towns of Eubœa, and the colonies in Sicily and Great Greece. He had

¹ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 7.

compelled fathers to teach their son a trade if they hoped to be supported by him in their age, and he was even said to have made a law against idleness. Athens was learning to honour labour as one of the sources of her wealth.

Yet the reforms of Solon had satisfied no one—neither the rich, who blamed him for abolishing debts, nor the poor, who hoped that he would redistribute the land.¹ Troubles broke out again in the city, party conflicts, the rivalries of ambitious men fighting for power. The nobility still retained sufficient prestige and local influence for each party to take an Eupatrid as its leader. It was one of these, Peisistratos, who, with the support of the Diacrians, imposed his personal sovereignty. The tyranny of Peisistratos did not check the development of Athens. He maintained the institutions of Solon, and even strengthened the work of the lawgiver by long and peaceful practice. Above all, Athens continued her economic development. The small property developed, thanks to the advances which Peisistratos made to small proprietors.² Vineyards and olive-groves covered more and more ground. The ceramic industry, which manufactured recipients for liquids, benefited by the fame of Attic wine and oil; the black-figured vases almost completely cut out other Greek wares on the markets of Etruria, and, even if they were carried by intermediaries,³ they testify to the growing importance of Athenian exports. The mines of Laureion began to be worked. The occupation of Naxos in the Cyclades, and of Sigeion at the entrance of the Hellespont, secured support bases for Athenian ships, and was a first suggestion of sea-empire. The city itself grew larger. The popular quarter, where the craftsmen who used fire, the blacksmiths and potters, worked, developed round the new Agora under the protection of Hephæstos and Athene Ergane. Aqueducts and fountains supplied the growing needs of a larger population. The Acropolis and the lower town were adorned with monuments. The material prosperity of the city was expressed in brilliant festivals, in which Athens began to figure as an artistic and intellectual capital. When the passage of time should have idealized men and events, the days of Peisistratos would be celebrated as the Golden Age.⁴

¹ Solon, fr. 34, 35.

² Arist., 'Αθ. πολ., 16. 2; Ael., V. H., ix. 25.

³ CXII; L, iii, pp. 605 ff.

⁴ Arist., 'Αθ. πολ., 16. 7.

This very development of the wealth of Athens was what caused the fall of the tyrants. No doubt the immediate causes were the harsh, suspicious policy of Hippias, the attacks of the Alcmaeonids at the head of the Paralians, and the intervention of Sparta. But in reality the revolution of 510 continued the regular evolution of the city. The tyranny was only a transitional phase between the aristocracy of old days and the democracy, which was not yet matured. Peisistratos had absolute power, but he respected legal forms and ruled "more as a citizen than as a tyrant."¹ But economic progress had caused the popular classes to multiply, and quite naturally tyranny was regarded in its turn as an obsolete form of government; another step was taken towards democracy. It was on the morrow of the fall of the tyrants that the organization of the city was completed with the reforms of Cleisthenes. Cleisthenes proceeded to a new distribution of the citizens; every Athenian, whatever his birth and his condition, was registered according to his domicile in a territorial division, either a quarter of the town or a country village, which was called his *deme*. The deme was the administrative unit. A group of adjoining demes formed a larger division, the *Trittys*; the Trittyes were distributed in three groups of ten, each corresponding to a natural region, the town and its outskirts, the coast, or the interior. Lastly, three Trittyes formed a tribe; but the ten tribes of Cleisthenes, which replaced the four old Ionian tribes, had only a moral unity, and did not form continuous territorial districts; on the contrary, each one of them included one Trittyes of the city region, one of the coast region, and one of the interior region.²

The object of the organization of Cleisthenes was to break down the old compartments and to effect the moral unity of the city. It completed the overthrow of the old family organization by dispersing the members of the *genos*; henceforward the Athenian would no longer bear the patronymic recording his birth, but would add to his name the demotic which showed to what deme he belonged.³ The new system took no account of the old politico-religious associations, but created new cults for the new groups; of the four villages

¹ Arist., 'Αθ. πολ., 14. 3; 16. 2.

² *Ibid.*, 21. 4. ³ *Ibid.*, 21. 4.

of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, three belonged to the tribe *Æantis* and the fourth to the tribe *Pandionis*. On the other hand, the tribe asserted its unity by celebrating in Athens the worship of its eponymous hero, whose statue stood on the *Agora*.¹ All local ties were broken, since each tribe contained one *Trittys* of each region; the tribe *Hippothoontis*, for example, embraced in the same unit the plain of *Eleusis*, the port of the *Peiræus*, and the mountain cantons of *Parnes* where *Deceleia* lay. In the new arrangement all Athenians were mingled, rich and poor, *Eupatrids* and non-nobles, *Pediæans*, *Diacrians*, and *Paralians*. All the local influence still possessed by the nobles or great landlords in virtue of tradition, if not of law, disappeared. When they discussed the affairs of the *deme* together, or met to celebrate the festivals of the tribe, the Athenians felt themselves really equals and members of one family. A new life began for the Athenian democracy.

The remoulding of the city, as effected by *Cleisthenes*, remained for the ancients the very type of democratic reform.² The Athenians afterwards regarded the time of *Cleisthenes* as the epoch of perfection,³ which aristocrats could extol no less than democrats.⁴ At that time Athens enjoyed a state of equilibrium in her political and economic life. After the Persian Wars, the maritime element, and with it the commercial and industrial element, were to gain the upper hand. Then the aristocrats would complain of the influence given to the citizens of the town and the *Peiræus*, the craftsmen, the *ῥχλος ναυτικός*,⁵ would protest that the Assembly was composed entirely of industrial workers,⁶ among whom the peasants felt uncomfortable,⁷ and would bitterly observe: "The 'People' means the poor!"⁸ In *Cleisthenes'* day the town element, with its readiness for new ideas, had its place, but the conservative rural element kept its own. This equilibrium was favourable to the moral unity of the city. It was not that political conflicts had ceased. Aristocrats and democrats continued their opposition, but all took their stand on the legal ground

¹ *Ibid.*, 21. 6; *Paus.*, i. 5. 2-5.

² *Hdt.*, v. 78; *Thuc.*, i. 18.

³ *Arist., Pol.*, v. 3. 5; v. 2. 12; vi. 4. 3.

⁴ *Ar., Ach.*, 19 ff.; *Eccl.*, 431-4.

⁵ *Arist., Pol.*, vi. 2. 11.

⁶ *Arist., 'Aθ. πολ.*, 29. 3.

⁷ *Xen., Mem.*, iii. 7.

⁸ *Xen., Mem.*, iv. 2.

of the constitution of Cleisthenes, and differences referred more to foreign policy than to home policy. This union of all classes was to manifest itself conspicuously at the time of the Persian Wars, when it helped to save Athens from the barbarian peril and at the same stroke ensured the greatness of the city.

5. FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND ATTICISM

Before she became the "School of Hellas,"¹ Athens took lessons from peoples which had reached civilization before her. Situated, so to speak, at the centre of the Greek world,² Attica opened its doors to every influence. By its land frontier, it was in contact with Dorian or Dorized countries; by its sea-fronts it entered into relations with the Ionian world of the islands. The advantage of Athens was that she combined elements borrowed from these two sources.

For a long time, however, the Athenians led in the country the life of the peasant, who does not look beyond the fields he is tilling, and troubles himself little about foreigners. Before Solon's time, Athens cannot have been very different from contemporary Sparta. The slow rate at which Athens emerged from archaism appears in her dialect. Whereas Ionic, spoken by a mixed, restless population, developed rapidly, Attic, shut off from outside influences, like the country population which spoke it, preserved very ancient forms, and kept the archaic appearance of a little-developed language.³ But Athens was too well situated to remain apart from the great routes of marine trade. Foreigners learned to frequent her ports, and, being well received by the Athenians, began to settle there. Solon, in his anxiety to develop useful labour, sought to attract foreigners by authorizing the grant of the citizenship to those who should establish themselves in the city in order to practise a trade.⁴ In the reaction which followed the fall of the tyrants, the aristocrats revised the list of citizens,⁵ but the leader of the democratic party, Cleisthenes, when he proceeded to reorganize the city, did not omit to bring into it, as citizens, all foreigners who had been settled long enough to be regarded

¹ Thuc., ii. 41.1.

² *XLV*, pp. 243-4.

³ Arist., *Δθ. πολ.*, 13.

⁴ Xen., *Vect.*, i.

⁵ Plut., *Sol.*, 24.

as true Athenians.¹ Thenceforward there was close co-operation between democrats and domiciled aliens.

With the foreigners, outside influences came in, and from the beginning these influences were of various kinds. Even in the civilization of the Dipylon we saw elements of apparently different origin. A still more characteristic example is furnished by the alphabet. The Attic alphabet is of the type of the Eastern alphabets. But it does not fall into either of the two groups of these alphabets. Whereas in its secondary signs it is related to the alphabets of the Cyclades, the use of H as an aspirate sign is a point of resemblance to those of Argos and Corinth; and it has not the long letters of the Ionic alphabet. On the other hand, it has elements in common with the alphabets of the West. The form ,v which appears in no Eastern alphabet, is found at Chalcis and in Bœotia. The Athenians used this composite alphabet until the end of the Vth century; the Ionic alphabet, which tended to supplant local alphabets everywhere, was not adopted officially until the Archonship of Euclides (408).

If influences were always manifold, there were some which predominated at different epochs. Athens first came under the influence of Ionia. Asiatic Greece was the teacher of the whole of Greece Proper; the relationship of race or language could not but make its influence on Athens the easier and more profound. From Ionia came the Homeric poems, which assumed a special importance at Athens when Peisistratos introduced into the Panathenaic festival a contest in epic recitation. For this contest, an official text of the poems had to be established. It was, without doubt, the first time that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* appeared as ordered, complete works, and the Athenian edition had little difficulty in superseding the more or less imperfect versions which had preceded it. Like poetry, art was of Ionian origin. The old Athenian sculptors had carved clumsy, childish works in the soft stone of their country.² They learned from the sculptors of Asia and the isles to use marble and to improve their workmanship. An Ionian, Endœos, executed the seated Athene which was dedicated by Callias, one of the

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 1. 10.

² **XLIX**, i, pp. 104 ff.; **XLVII**, viii, pp. 531 ff.

opponents of Peisistratos.¹ Archermos of Chios, Alxenor of Naxos, Aristion of Paros, came and worked in Athens.² The Acropolis was peopled with elegant *korai*, the sisters of the *korai* of Ionia or Samos.³ The vase-painters, too, adopted an Oriental style; plant motives, wild beasts, and Assyrian-looking winged genies appeared among the chequers and zigzags of Geometric ornament, and finally drove them out. Ionism reached its apogee in Athens under the Peisistratids. On the Acropolis, the Hecatompedon, recently adorned with marble pediments, may have received a further decoration in a continuous series of bas-reliefs on the model of the temples of Ionia.⁴ The poets Anacreon of Teos and Simonides of Ceos sang at the court of Hipparchos. Like every Ionian city, Athens did not separate economic pre-eminence from intellectual pre-eminence.

The fall of the tyrants turned the eyes of Athens in another direction. Ionia was at this time losing its very independence, and, with it, its power of expansion. The position taken by Sparta on the mainland, the intervention of Spartan armies in Attica, and the alliance struck by the aristocrats of Athens with the typical aristocratic city explain how Dorian influence came to supplant Ionian influence in Athens. Henceforward there were in Athens Laconizers among the statesmen and thinkers. The transformation of taste was seen in changes in costume. At the time of Peisistratos Athens had dressed in the Ionian fashion.⁵ The women had worn long garments of linen, light and pliant in spite of their many-coloured embroidery, pleated in innumerable little folds, and clinging tight over the legs when the material was lifted and stretched by the hand. In Thucydides' day old men still wore the Ionian clothes and jewellery of their youth.⁶ The Ionian chiton of fine cloth was now replaced by the Dorian chiton of thick wool, held by brooches, and hiding the body under its ample, strongly marked folds. The new fashions gave the sculptor more austere types. As costume and hair-dressing became simpler, the countenance changed; the rather artificial smile of the Ionian *korai* vanished, and the

¹ Paus., i. 26. 4; **XLIX**, i, p. 337.

² **XLIX**, i, p. 338.

³ **XLIX**, i, pp. 340 ff; **XLVII**, viii, pp. 574 ff.

⁴ **XVII**, xxx (1905), p. 305; xxxvi (1911), p. 41; **XII**, xxxii (1919), p. 214.

⁵ Hdt., v. 87.

⁶ Thuc., i. 6.

face took on a serious, almost sulky expression. The *kore* of Euthydikos has the pensive gravity of a Spartan mother.¹ Like the sculptors of the islands, those of Laconia, Ægina, and Sicyon came and worked in Athens. But the Peloponnese had no writers to set up against those of Asiatic Greece, and literature escaped Dorian influence. Attic speech and poetry remained full of Ionisms,² and even prose was long in breaking away from Ionic literary prose.³

The Attic genius was in great part made by the meeting of the Ionian spirit and the Dorian. This combination was to give the age of Pericles its masterpieces. The Parthenon would show how much the strength of the Doric temple could gain by being softened by Ionic grace;⁴ the tragedies of Sophocles would gather up all the inheritance of earlier poetry, from the Homeric epic to the choral lyric of the Dorians.⁵ But the Athenians were not content merely to bring different elements together; their work was original because they put their own spirit into it. And they did so from the VIth century onwards. The vase-painters relegated the old decorative motives to a secondary position, reduced the naturalistic ornament, and devoted all their efforts to figure compositions.⁶ The study of man, rather than of nature, became the characteristic of Attic art, as of Attic literature, and in vase-painting it led to the predominance of the drawing, which improved steadily throughout the transition from "black-figure" to "red-figure." So, too, the sculptors broke away from foreign dominion. An Attic school was formed, the chief representative of which, Antenor, already enjoyed sufficient renown to be entrusted with the execution of the group of the Tyrannicides.⁷ When we look at the *kore* of Antenor⁸ by the side of her Ionian sisters, we realize how much the Athenian artists contributed of their own. It is the same old Ionian theme, but treated in quite a new tone. The artist has sought the just mean between Ionian slenderness and Dorian heaviness; he treats with sober simplicity details of hair and costume in which the Ionian sculptors revelled to the point of affectation. The whole is well balanced and strong, and, by its very

¹ XLIX, i, pl. vi.

⁴ XLVIII, pp. 122 ff.

⁷ XLIX, i, pp. 365 ff.

² XLV, p. 226.

⁵ XLV, p. 231.

⁸ XLIX, i, fig. 186; XLVII, viii, pl. ii.

³ XLV, pp. 226, 246.

⁶ L, iii, pp. 626 ff.

dimensions, gives an impression of grandeur. Proportion and simplicity, distinction and nobility, the especially Athenian qualities are already here. On the eve of the Persian Wars the finest flower of the Greek genius opened—Atticism.

PART THREE

HELLENIC EXPANSION

CHAPTER I

COLONIZATION

1. THE FIRST EXPLORERS : GREEKS AND PHOENICIANS

WHEN they were at last settled on the shores of the sea, the Hellenes, who had come into Greece by the land road, sent out swarms to the neighbouring islands and soon set forth on every sea-way. The earliest legends told of voyages of discovery and adventure no less than of exploits in war, and the national hero was, much more than the warrior Achilles, the bold and wily mariner Odysseus.

The adventures of Odysseus illustrate for us the first long voyages of the Greeks. They are driven less by the wrath of the gods, the symbol of fate, as the poet would have it, than by their own curiosity and desire for adventure, and follow no definite object, advancing from one country to the next according to the caprice of the wind and their need of fresh water or meat. They come into contact with the natives, either taking by force what they desire, or obtaining it by peaceful barter. Sometimes they are driven off by savage tribes, and barely escape the attacks of the Læstrygones and the clutches of the Cyclops ; sometimes they receive a friendly welcome from mild and peaceful natives, and spend long periods of recuperation with Circe or Calypso. Then, after an absence lasting years, the adventurer wearies of adventures, his heart is tormented by longing for his return, and, not without further trials, he comes home, to enjoy the riches accumulated on his expeditions as trader and pirate, and to tell his fellow-citizens endless tales of the magic and treasures of distant lands. Then, inspired by

their fathers, the sons take the sea in their turn, and add new lands and new marvels to the lands and marvels already known.

On the routes of the Mediterranean the Hellenes had fore-runners. The countries to which they came were new to them, but not unknown ; earlier explorers had already given them names which the Greeks simply took over. Even in the Ægean, and in Greece itself, place-names are generally foreign to the Hellenic language, and attempts have been made to identify, by means of these names, the people which discovered and named the countries. These attempts, ingenious though they be, only lead to hypotheses. The philologists, who are more cautious and more exacting in the matter of proofs, go so far as to say : “ It would be a defiance of every sort of method, to base the assertion of any historical fact whatever on the study of proper names.”¹ At the very most they consider that the study of names may sometimes confirm facts established in some other manner by the historians.

Unfortunately, the early history of the Mediterranean is still obscure. The Egyptians do not seem to have looked beyond Crete, Cyprus, and the coasts of Syria, and they rather turned their attention in the direction of the Red Sea. A much greater part was played by the Ægeans. There is no doubt that they visited the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, and probably many parts of the western Mediterranean. Archæological discoveries may define the bounds of their commercial activity, but, since we know nothing of their language, it is impossible to say whether place-names preserve traces of their passage. In the Homeric poems the name which recurs fairly often, in connexion with sea trade or piracy, is that of the Phœnicians. So the authority of Homer has caused the Phœnicians to be regarded as the great navigators of the early Mediterranean, the discoverers of every land, and the teachers of the Greek navigators.

This opinion, which was for a long time orthodox, calls for reservations. It is a mistake to place Phœnician activity too far back. When, in the XVth century, Pharaoh Thothmes III wished to have timber transported from Lebanon to Egypt, he called, not upon Phœnician sailors,

¹ XLV, p. 57.

but on Cretan sailors. Only about the XIIth century, when Phœnicia was freed from Egyptian domination, did the Phœnician cities come to the front; the prosperity of Sidon began in the XIth century, and that of Tyre in the Xth. It is to this great age that the evidence of the Homeric poems corresponds. And even at that date the Phœnicians hardly knew more than the Greek seas, where they visited Cyprus, Crete, Cythera, Thasos; at the most they had already entered the Euxine. But in the western Mediterranean they did not show the way to the Greeks. Both peoples explored the western regions at the same time. In Libya, Sardinia, and Andalusia, the Phœnicians preceded the Greeks; in Sicily, Italy, and Gaul, the Greeks were before the Phœnicians. In these circumstances, we must use caution in speaking of Phœnician influences. There is no proof that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phœnician; the two may have had a common prototype.¹ The Semitic words found in Greek prove, it was once said,² the influence of the Phœnicians on the Greeks, who borrowed the things at the same time as the words; but, even if we suppose that the words common to the two languages were not simply derived from a common origin,—and one thinks, as in the case of the alphabet, of the Ægeans—such borrowings are rare, and certainly do not exceed a dozen.³ The Greeks were the rivals, not the disciples, of the Phœnicians.

Between the marine activity of the Phœnicians and that of the Greeks there were, moreover, fundamental differences. The Phœnicians were simply traders, whose sole concern was to keep away rivals and to secure a monopoly of exploitation. So they jealously guarded the secret of the routes they followed and the countries they discovered. Symbolic of this spirit is the story of the Phœnician ship which ran aground rather than reveal to the Greek ship which followed her the way to the Tin Islands. The Greek was of a very different temperament. Certainly he did not despise material profits, but with him simple curiosity was as strong as the desire for gain; every Greek travelled, as Aristotle says of Solon,⁴ κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἄμα καὶ θεωρίαν—to

¹ For the origin of the alphabet, a good summary of the present state of the question will be found in Glötz, *The Ægean Civilization*, in this series, pp. 371 ff. ² C, pp. 14–15. ³ XLV, p. 52.

⁴ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, xi. 1; cf. Hdt., iii. 139

do business and to see the world. What was more, if he liked to learn, he was just as glad to let others have the benefit of his knowledge. In addition to the pleasure of seeing new things, he had the perhaps greater pleasure of telling of what he had seen. Indulging a failing opposite to the interested dumbness of the Phœnician, the talkative Greek was only too ready to describe his own prowess, and even to romance. Travellers' tales are never believed; when, in later years, Pytheas correctly described the strange phenomena which he had observed in the northern seas, he was greeted with sceptical smiles, and the great explorer was treated as a *De Rougemont*.¹

The Greeks may, then, be regarded as the first explorers. To their curiosity, in great part disinterested, the advance of geographical knowledge was due. One after another, all the countries of the Mediterranean lost their mystery, and the thousand indentations of their coasts were as intimately known as the shores of the *Ægean*. There was no longer a *terra incognita* in which to place monsters and magic. The wonders which the legend of the Argonauts placed at the entrance to the Black Sea were removed in the legend of Odysseus to the entrance to the western Mediterranean. Then, when the basin of the western Mediterranean was explored in its turn, the lands of legend were placed beyond the Pillars of Heracles, and the Islands of the Blest and mysterious Atlantis lay in the Ocean.

2. COLONY AND MOTHER CITY

Odysseus, even in his longest and most agreeable sojournings, never forget his native land, and constantly thought of his home-coming. But the first explorers, who only reconnoitred the coasts, were followed by those who were not afraid to settle permanently in a foreign land; Greek colonization began. The accepted term "colonization" may lead to misunderstanding. For us, colonization means founding a colonial empire, and, whether we speak of the Spanish empire of the XVIth century or of the Dutch empire of the XVIIth, not to mention the modern colonies in Africa, a colonial empire is a vast territory under military occupa-

¹ Strabo, i. 4. 2; ii. 4. 1-2; iii. 4. 4; iv. 2. 1; iv. 6. 5; vii. 3. 1.

tion, politically subject to the mother country, exploited by and for the mother country, and inhabited by a minority of white men and a majority of natives, whom the Europeans for a long time regarded merely as a necessary source of labour, and ill-treated accordingly, but are now trying to civilize, and even, in some cases, to assimilate to the colonists from the mother country. Now, nothing could be more unlike a Greek colony.

The foundation of a colony was originally, and remained almost always, a private enterprise; it was the work of a body of citizens who decided to leave their home and to found a new city far away. Sometimes they turned to the city only to obtain from it a leader, the *οἰκιστῆς* or *founder*, who was chosen from the old families who preserved religious traditions and knew the rites appropriate to the foundation of cities. The emigrants could not start without taking counsel of the gods; for choice they went to Delphi to consult Apollo, Delphinian Apollo, who had once led the Cretan sailors to Crissa and now guided Greek ships on every sea, and the Mediterranean world was full of Apollonias dedicated to him by grateful emigrants. The god told them the route to follow, the country on which to land, and the site on which to build the city. Nothing could succeed without his help; Dorieus, who omitted to consult the Oracle, went on from failure to failure.¹ When they reached the chosen spot, the emigrants obtained land from the natives by agreement or took it by force, divided it among themselves, and performed rites to consecrate the birth of a new city.

What were the relations maintained by this young city with that from which the emigrants had set forth? At the beginning, there was nothing official about colonization, and the colonists were merely private individuals; so the relations between the two cities were governed only by use and tradition. When the city intervened to make colonization a State undertaking, it laid down the conditions under which the colony was to be founded by law or decree. Such, for example, was the law for the foundation of the colony of Naupactos by the Opuntians, with other Locrians, in the first half of the Vth century.² Rules made thus officially merely codified the practices followed from time immemorial.

¹ Hdt., v. 42.

² IX, ii, 1478; X, i, pp. 180 ff.

Politically, the colony was a completely independent city. It had its own laws, its own magistrates, its own policy. It was under no obligation to the parent city, military or financial. The colonists who left for Naupactos were released from all taxes in their native country. Like every Greek city, the colony knew no greater blessing than self-government and liberty; the Corcyraeans proudly demanded to be treated as equals and not as slaves by the Corinthians.¹

Nevertheless, if there were no political ties, there were moral ties between the two cities. First of all, they were united by religion. Before their departure, the founder had lighted at the hearth of the city the fire which would be the hearth of the colony. The foundation of the colony had been accompanied by the same religious ceremonies as had been performed long ago at the foundation of the city itself. The colony had the same gods as the mother city. To serve these gods, it called, in case of need, on a priest from the mother city. In the colonies of Corinth the sacrifices were conducted by a Corinthian.² The colony took part in the religious festivals of the mother city. The colonists of Naupactos retained in the land of their origin the place which their family occupied in sacrifices and feasts by hereditary right. As late as the IVth century, the people of Priene passed a decree that their offerings to Athene Polias should be sent to the Great Panathenaea in witness of the ancient kinship which bound Priene and Athens.³ The appearance of the same gods and the same cults in two cities was held sufficient proof of their common origin.⁴

The colony had yet other ties with the mother city. It spoke the same language. As a rule, it had modelled its political institutions exactly on those of the mother city.⁵ It might receive new colonists from it, and ask it for an *οἰκιστής* if it wished to found a colony itself.⁶ It had commercial relations with the mother city. The feeling of racial kinship was expressed in the very term *metropolis*; there were a mother city and daughter cities,⁷ just as there were sister cities⁸ born of the same *metropolis*. The colony had for the mother city the feelings of respect and affection of a child

¹ Thuc., i. 34.

² *Ibid.*, i. 25.

³ V, no. 5, pp. 8 ff.

⁴ Strabo, viii. 6. 22.

⁵ Plato, *Laws*, iv. 708c.

⁶ Thuc., i. 24.

⁷ Hdt., viii. 22; Plato, *Laws*, vi. 754A; Polyb., xii. 9. 3.

⁸ Polyb., xxii. 7. 11.

for its parents. When oppressed, it appealed to the mother city,¹ "as children, when ill-treated, run to their father."² A colony making war on its mother city seemed as monstrous and impious as a son hitting his mother.³ Yet the development of the new city, which was politically independent, might lead to conflicts with the mother city. From the day it was founded Corcyra was the rival of Corinth on the Adriatic.⁴ So the mother cities thought it advisable to take precautions; the Opuntians required from their colonists at Naupactos an oath, periodically renewable, that they would remain loyal allies of Opus.

The Greek colonies did not constitute a colonial empire. They were not only independent, but isolated one from another. Even when they were contiguous, they were only a fringe along the coast, and did not extend their dominion inland. It was rare for cities to combine so as to form a single united territory; only in Sicily and southern Italy was a new Greece created. Everywhere else there were only small groups of Greeks lost in a barbarian environment. In this respect the Greek colonies were not so different from Phœnician settlements as is usually asserted. The Phœnicians chiefly set up "factories," with a fortress held by mercenaries and a market where business was done with the natives; but they, too, in Cyprus and northern Africa, grouped colonies together sufficiently to occupy a continuous territory comparable to Great Greece. So, too, the Greeks, on the Black Sea and on the coast of Gaul, had isolated settlements just like the Phœnician trading-stations. It was not the Phœnicians who taught the Greeks to establish themselves on a peninsula or an islet near the coast. The same need of securing communications by sea and defending themselves against the natives compelled the two peoples to adopt the same type of settlement.

3. FROM COLONY TO COLONIAL EMPIRE

The history of the beginnings of Hellenic expansion is very obscure. The later Greeks, knowing practically nothing about them, pictured the earliest Greek settlements on the model of more recent colonies, and transported into the past

¹ Thuc., vi. 88.

² Diod., x, fr. 32. 4.

³ Hdt., iii. 19; viii. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 49.

the causes and circumstances proper to the VIth century. In reality, what has been called the earliest colonization was simply a consequence of the migrations which brought the Greeks into Greece Proper, and particularly of the last, the Dorian invasion. The settlement of the Dorians in the countries occupied by the Achæans drove these latter to leave the country and to seek their fortune afar. They took the sea, and, from island to island, made their way to the coasts of Asia.

These shiftings of peoples, these mass emigrations, which are difficult for us to imagine, were not unknown in classical times. For Plato,¹ foreign conquest was one of the causes of colonization, and without doubt he was thinking less of heroic times than of the still recent history of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Before the Persian menace, Bias of Priene advised the Ionians to emigrate in a body to Sardinia, and there to found a new city, which should be the common country of all the Ionians.² Although the majority resigned themselves to the foreign yoke, some preferred exile to slavery. The inhabitants of Teos emigrated to Abdera; the Phocæans, after placing their families and goods on their ships, took solemn oath never to return to Phocæa, and set sail for their colonies in the western Mediterranean.³ The Athenians themselves, on the eve of Salamis, seem to have contemplated emigrating to Great Greece, should fortune continue to be adverse to them.⁴ It was migrations like these which, in the Xth century, had taken the Achæans of Thessaly and the Peloponnese to the shores of Asia.

But in classical times mass migrations were exceptional. When Hellenic expansion began again in the VIIth century, the situation was different, and colonization was due to other causes. As a rule, the emigrants were citizens who had a difficult or inferior position at home, and were driven abroad by the hope of bettering themselves. The inferiority which they sought to escape might be the result of economic or of political circumstances, or of both.

The cause most mentioned by the ancients was overpopulation, and the consequent lack of land.⁵ But we must

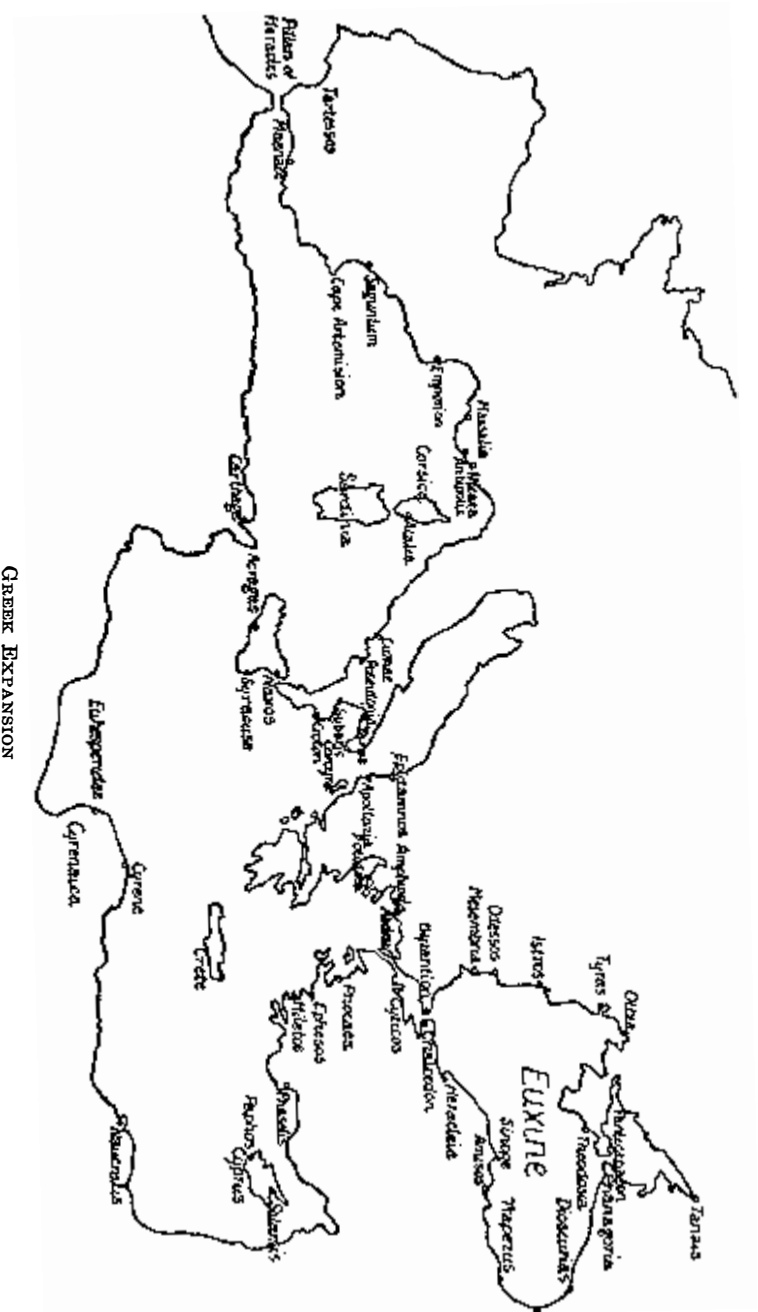
¹ Plato, *Laws*, iv. 708B.

² Hdt., i. 170.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 164-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 62.

⁵ Plato, *Laws*, iv. 708B; v. 740E; cf. Thuc., i. 2; Strabo, xvii. 1. 6.



be clear about the meaning of these terms. The soil of Greece was capable of feeding a larger population than existed at that time ; the lack of land was due not so much to natural conditions as to social organization, that is to say, to the bad distribution of property. Ordinarily, the ground belonged to the families, the *γένη*, and the family property could not be divided. So many men, the younger sons of great families or poor men who did not come within the family system, had no property. The ownership of land for a long time remained a strict privilege of the nobility. For all who could not own in the city enough land to keep them, the only remedy was to seek virgin, unoccupied land far away. The first colonies were agricultural settlements. The founders did not look for good positions for navigation or trade ; their object was to establish themselves in the middle of a fertile tract, where the climate was the same as in Greece, and it would therefore be possible to practise the kinds of farming to which they were accustomed in the mother country. Such, for example, were the colonies of the Gulf of Taras. Here the natural harbours were few, poor, and threatened by the silt of the coast rivers, but the soil was rich ; therefore it was not on the sea, but inland, that the new cities were built, and they extended their territory landwards so as to take in as much cultivable ground as possible. So, too, Cyrene stood some miles from the sea, among fields and pastures.

By the side of the landless citizens, the city contained other victims of fortune, men who had lost citizen rights or had never had them. They too, being treated by the city as pariahs, wished to make a kinder country for themselves. When legend ascribes the beginnings of a colony to adventurers or vagrant men, it represents an aristocratic tradition, which regarded all citizens of the lower classes as contemptible persons. It was to escape from a political as much as a social inferiority that the founders of Taras left Sparta. During the Messenian War, it was said, the prolonged absence of the heads of families, the true Spartiates, had allowed widows and girls to take husbands from the lower classes and to marry Perioeci and even Helots. The children born of these misalliances were excluded from citizen rights. At first they thought of taking them by force, by raising the Helots, but,

on the advice of the Oracle of Delphi, they forbore to create trouble in their country, and went off to settle in southern Italy.¹ Much the same story was told of Epizephyrian Locri.² Social differences, and the resulting political conflicts, were, then, a constant cause of emigration. Frequently a defeated political party gave up the struggle and left the city.³ The civil strife which disturbed Megara so violently was not without influence on the colonial expansion of that city.

So Greek expansion was closely connected, in the VIIIth and VIIth centuries, with the instability of political and social institutions in most cities, and the crises from which classical Greece was to emerge. For economic conditions were changing. On the one hand, the break-up of the old family and the consequent possibility of transferring landed property enabled a larger number of men to become land-owners. On the other hand, in many cities industry and trade, which were beginning to develop, offered the worker a livelihood which he no longer sought from the land. The population increased, it is true, but it found a living in the city, and so the sources of emigration might have dried up. But then new causes intervened. Economic progress, and, above all, the appearance of movable wealth, gave birth to great trading cities. The towns of Ionia first, Miletos and Phocæa, and then, in Greece Proper, the towns of Eubœa, Chalcis and Eretria, and those of the Saronic Gulf, Corinth and Megara, were great centres of both trade and manufacture, and, as such, required to form relations with abroad. So it was they which led the colonial movement from the second half of the VIIth century onwards.

The first colonists had looked for land ; those of the VIth century went to seek raw materials and markets. First, food-stuffs were wanted. The great trade centres were huge agglomerations for which local resources were no longer sufficient. So we find the Greeks making for the great granaries of the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt and southern Russia, the latter of which was also to supply fish and preserved goods. Then raw materials for industry were sought, wood from the Caucasus, wool from Spain, and the metals—

¹ Strabo, vi. 3. 2-3 ; Arist., *Pol.*, v. 6. 1.

² Polyb., xii. 5-11.

³ Plato, *Laws*, iv. 708B.

iron, copper, and tin—from Armenia and the Caucasus, and silver from Andalusia. Lastly, the barbarian countries provided the human cattle, the slaves, whom the requirements of luxury and the need for labour collected in ever greater numbers in the towns. In exchange for native products, the Greek ships brought those of Greek farming and industry—oil and, still more, wine, which was very acceptable to the barbarians—and penetrated to the heart of Germany and Scythia by the valleys of the Danube and the Russian rivers, and manufactured goods, especially articles of precious material or fine workmanship, such as arms, vases, and jewels.

The colony created (on the shores of the Euxine, for example) by the great trading cities was different from the old agricultural colony. First of all, it had to be a port; it was built for choice on an islet or a peninsula, so as to be sheltered from the wind of the open sea, and at the same time to be able to defend itself against attack from the land. It might be placed on a thoroughfare, for example at the mouth of a river, up which the road ran to the interior. Every Russian river had its Greek colony, Tanais on the mouth of the Don, Olbia on that of the Bug, Tyras on that of the Dniester; Istros, though it stood clear of the delta, was close to the Danube. Moreover, the new colonies pursued quite a different policy towards the natives. In the agricultural colony, the Greeks either drove the natives into the interior and seized their land, or else reduced them to a state of serfdom and compelled them to till the ground for colonist owners. The Mariandynians of Heracleia were in the same condition as the Penestæ of Thessaly or the Helots of Laconia.¹ In either case, colonists and natives treated each other as enemies. In the commercial colony, on the other hand, good relations with the natives were indispensable. No doubt trade in distant countries was not so distinct from piracy but that there were often acts of violence. But, if the colony was to answer its purpose, that is to say, to supply the mother city with raw materials and ensure it a market, it was obliged to maintain friendly relations with the natives, and particularly with the small princes of the country. The legend of Euxenos, received as a friend, and presently as a

¹ Ath., vi. 263D-E.

son-in-law, by the Ligurian chieftain, was only a poetical version of what was happening every day. Phocæa formed the same kind of profitable friendship with Arganthonios, the king of Tartessos,¹ as the Athenians enjoyed later with the "Archons of the Bosphorus" or the kings of the Odrysians.

In theory, the commercial colony, like the agricultural colony, was a self-governing state, independent of the mother city. But in fact the situation was somewhat different. The commercial colony had no *raison d'être* but as an economic appendage of the mother city. These economic ties were stronger than political ties. The ninety cities which Miletos had founded on the shores of the Euxine might imagine themselves free; they none the less constituted a colonial empire of Miletos. Corinth claimed to keep her colonies under her control, sending a kind of governors every year to Potidæa,² and refusing to let Corcyra form trading stations of her own and exploit the countries of the Adriatic. Sinope exacted tribute from the new cities which she founded.³

Little by little, men came to regard colonies as dependencies of the mother city. The object of official colonization was at first the economic supremacy of the city, and later its political supremacy as well. This was how, from the colony of the VIIth century, things moved steadily towards the absolutely opposite type of the Vth century, the Athenian Cleruchy.⁴

The colonies of Athens were foundations of the city itself, created and organized by a decree of the people.⁵ The Cleruchies were military posts, occupying a strategic point, commanding a much-frequented route, and serving as a base of operations to the Athenian fleet. They were, therefore, especially numerous in the north of the Ægean. The Thracian islands, commanding both the route from the Euxine and the gold district of Pangæos, received several. On Lemnos there were two; on the west, Myrina, on a rocky spur connected with the island only by a spit of land, with a view as far as the mountains of Chalcidice, was a perfect nest for pirates, who could defy attack from land or sea; on the north was Hephæstia, which, originally built on

¹ Hdt., i. 163.

² Xen., *Anab.*, v. 5.

³ II, i. 31.

⁴ Thuc., i. 56.

⁵ CXXI.

a slightly raised peninsula, profited by the Athenian peace to come down into the plain, and owned a double harbour on coves which were fairly deep and almost completely closed.¹

The Cleruchy was simply a detached piece of the city of Athens. It was not independent. If the Cleruchs formed a community which could decide its own affairs and vote decrees, they were doing no more than the demesmen in the deme, and this municipal life did not alter their political status. The Cleruch remained a citizen of Athens. He also had the duties of a citizen ; he obeyed the laws and decrees of the Athenian people, and he was subject to financial obligations, such as Liturgies. He was subject to the jurisdiction of the law-courts of Athens.

Another object for which the Cleruchies were created was to assist poor citizens. The Cleruch owed his name to the κλήρος, or allotment of ground, which he received in the colony. After the expedition of 507 against Eubœa, Athens took the property of the Hippobotæ of Chalcis and distributed it among four thousand Athenian colonists ;² this was the earliest settlement of the kind. In the Vth century, the distribution of land was the essential operation. How did the Athenian State obtain it ? Sometimes it was taken from the enemy or confiscated from owners who had revolted against Athens. Elsewhere, among faithful allies who had not incurred any penalty, the State bought lands, but we may doubt whether the sale was free and regular, and whether there was never any abuse of power. To give the measure its full social value, the Cleruchs were taken from the two lowest classes.³ On principle, the Cleruch, who was a soldier stationed at a military post, had to occupy in person the land allotted to him ; the colonists of Brea were given thirty days in which to proceed to the colony.⁴ But in the end the Cleruchy came to be regarded solely as a means of ensuring an income for Athenian citizens. To punish the Mytilenæans for their defection, Athens confiscated their land, and divided it into 2,700 portions, for which the citizens drew lots ; the Athenians did not, however, work it themselves, but were content to make the former owners, now become their tenants, pay them two minas a year on each allotment.⁵

¹ CXX.

⁴ II, i, 31, A, l. 30.

² Hdt., v. 77.

⁵ Thuc., iii. 50.

³ II, i, 31, B, ll. 8-10.

With the Cleruchies the evolution of Greek colonization reached its culminating point. At the beginning it had been no more than the expansion of the Greeks all over the Mediterranean basin, which led to the creation of new Greek states outside Greece Proper. Then economic necessities, due to the development of great towns which needed raw materials and markets, established closer and closer relations between the colony and the mother city. Then, very naturally, economic empire was followed by political empire. For Athens, the colonies were no more than a means of providing a living for poor citizens, and of imposing her military and naval supremacy on her allies and on all the Greeks of the *Ægean*.

CHAPTER II

ASIATIC GREECE

1. THE GREEK CITIES OF ASIA

FROM the mainland where they had settled, the Hellenes, drawn by the riches which story attributed to the old Ægean kingdoms, passed on to the islands, and the Ægean Sea was the theatre of a first Hellenic colonization, an Achæan colonization, prior to those known to classical tradition. By the middle of the XIIIth century the Achæans were masters of Crete, whence they set out on their expeditions to Egypt. About the XIIth century, they reached Cyprus, and during the same time they occupied most of the Cyclades. Only a few "Pelasgian"—that is, pre-Hellenic—populations managed to survive in out-of-the-way places, keeping, as on Lemnos, their own language and customs.

The current of emigration grew stronger with the Dorian invasion. Pressed by the Dorians, the Achæans abandoned the districts in which they had established themselves, and, from island to island, made their way as far as Asia.¹ The foundation of the Greek cities of Asia was so remote that even the first Ionian chroniclers had no tradition of their true history. They dealt with the difficulty by imagining the first migrations on the pattern of the colonization of their own time, and embellishing the whole with ingenious legends. For want of precise historical evidence, we must be content to indicate the main movements of which the political map of Asiatic Greece in the VIth century was the result.

The arrival of the Dorians in Thessaly and Bœotia started a first migration. Bodies from central and northern Greece, a medley of peoples, as their name of Æolians, or "mongrels," shows, left Thessaly, crossed the Ægean, and settled in the

¹ For new evidence, supplied by Hittite texts, on early Achæo-Æolian settlements in Asia Minor, see Glotz, *The Ægean Civilization*, pp. 404-6.

north-west of Asia Minor, from the Dardanelles to the Gulf of Smyrna, in the region which was afterwards called Æolis. Linguistic analogies reveal the countries from which the Æolians came. The dialect spoken in Æolis, represented by the speech of Lesbos in particular, belonged to the same group as Bœotian and Thessalian, this last being intermediate between the two others.¹ The new-comers had long, hard struggles with the natives; the memory of them was preserved in legend, and finally collected round a central episode, the siege of Troy. In the VIth century the Æolians had twelve cities on the mainland—Cyme, Larissa, Neon-teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæae, Myrina, Gryneion, and Smyrna, which was taken from them by the Ionians. In the islands, they had five cities on Lesbos, one on Tenedos, and one on Hecatonnesos.²

With the establishment of the Dorians in the Peloponnese, new departures took place. Even more mixed than their predecessors, but coming chiefly from Eubœa, Attica, and Argolis, the emigrants occupied the Cyclades one after another, and settled in Asia south of the Æolians. Ionia comprised twelve cities on the mainland and islands together—Miletos, Myus, Priene, Ephesos, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Phocæa, Chios, and Samos. Later, it encroached on its neighbours; in the north, the Ionians of Colophon took Æolian Smyrna,³ and, in the south, Halicarnassos, Dorian in origin, joined the Ionian group and adopted its language.⁴

Lastly, the Dorians themselves took part in the colonization of Asia. From the Peloponnese, like their Achæan fore-runners, they reached the islands, settled in Crete and in Rhodes, and in their turn came to Asia Minor. To the south of Ionia, Doris formed a group of six cities—Lindos, Ialysos, Cameiros, Cos, Cnidos, and Halicarnassos—reduced to five when Halicarnassos, excluded for having broken religious laws, attached itself to Ionia.⁵

Asiatic Greece did not extend inland. It was only a fringe, and a discontinuous fringe, along the sea. In Ionia the Greek cities were closer together, and often contiguous. So we find them quarrelling over frontier zones; the pos-

¹ XLV, pp. 92, 96.

² Hdt., i. 149, 151.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 150.

⁴ XLV, p. 77.

⁵ Hdt., i. 144.

session of a few fields was destined to be, throughout antiquity, an eternal subject of conflict and arbitration between Priene, Miletos, and Samos.¹ In other parts the cities were quite separate, and formed islands of Hellenism amid the surrounding barbarians.

The cities were independent. Each had its own organization and government. But they all went through much the same political evolution. Like all Greek cities, they began by having kings, the alleged descendants of the founder, whom they endeavoured to connect with the most illustrious families of Greece Proper. Then, without disappearing, the kingship lost its power. At Ephesos, the Androclids still kept the title of king in Roman times,² but for long their privileges had been purely ornamental. Monarchy was succeeded by aristocratic government, but the aristocracy did not base its power on landed property; as at Corinth, it was an aristocracy of ship-owners, merchants, and manufacturers, whose activity made the wealth of the city. Also, as at Corinth, this rich class was opposed by a population of sailors and craftsmen, who had the numbers and claimed a share in the direction of public affairs. Through the struggles of parties, ambitious leaders, following the example of their neighbour Gyges of Lydia, who had risen from soldier of fortune to king,³ established their personal power. "Tyranny" was born in Asia; the very word *τύραννος* seems to be of Lydian origin;⁴ Thrasybulos of Miletos and Polycrates of Samos gave accomplished examples of this form of government before Periandros of Corinth and Peisistratos of Athens. It is probable that tyranny would have been, in Asia, merely a transitional form between aristocracy and pure democracy, as it actually was in Greece; but the evolution through which Athens went, in the same economic circumstances as the Ionian cities, was checked in Asia by the Persian conquest.

While maintaining their autonomy, the cities of Asia were conscious of the common origin which was attested by their common dialect. They formed religious associations about a common shrine. The twelve Ionian cities built, on land taken from the Carians, Cape Mycale, the temple of Heli-

¹ V, pp. vi. ff.

³ CXXII, pp. 148 ff.

² Strabo, xiv. 1. 3.

⁴ CXXII, p. 146.

conian Poseidon, which was the common sanctuary of Ionia, the Panionion.¹ The five cities of Doris formed round the shrine of Apollo Triopios an association from which every other city was excluded, even if it was of Dorian origin.²

2. IONIA

Of the three regions occupied by the Greeks, one so outstripped the two others that it was taken by itself to personify the whole of Asiatic Greece. This was Ionia. Like the Æolians, the Ionians had taken up and transported to Asia the Mycenæan heritage. Whereas in Greece Proper the Dorian invasion marked a time of arrested progress, in Asiatic Greece Ægean and Mycenæan civilization continued its development uninterrupted. But special circumstances enabled the Ionians to make this inheritance particularly fruitful.

For one thing, the Ionians were peculiar in their ethnical characteristics. The groups north and south of them were more homogeneous; the Dorians belonged to one same people, and the Æolians, in spite of their name, all came from the same country and comprised only pre-Dorian Greeks. The Ionians came from everywhere, from central Greece, from Eubœa, from Attica, from the Peloponnese; among them there were not only Achæans driven out of their country, but pre-Hellenic peoples and conquering Dorians as well. They were, says Herodotos, "a mixture of Minyans of Orchomenos, Cadmeians, Dryopians, some Phocians, Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, Dorians of Epidauros, and many other nations."³ The emigrants set out in small separate bands, often too weak to form a strong settlement, and obliged to wait for new contingents to arrive before they could gain a permanent footing in the country. For each city, tradition recorded several foundations, corresponding to successive waves of immigrants. At Ephesos the first arrivals settled on the islet of Syrie, and they waited twenty years before passing on to the mainland.⁴ This diversity of origin, this mixture of men from every country and of every race, was bound to create a human environment with an infinite variety of characteristics, tendencies, and ideas,

¹ Strabo, xiv. 1. 20. ² Hdt., i. 144. ³ *Ibid.*, i. 146. ⁴ CXXI.

little bound by tradition and prejudice, the better able to understand anything, and the readier to dare anything.

A further element of diversity was contributed by the natives. The Æolians had been obliged to struggle long against stubborn adversaries; the Ionians, on the other hand, found mild, friendly peoples, the Leleges and Carians, in whom the Hittite and Ægean civilizations had already met. Immigrants and natives soon mingled; the Ionians, according to the story, left home without women and married girls of the country.¹ Mixed marriages were frequent at all times; Thales' father and Herodotos' uncle bore Carian names. The native element introduced even more variety into the already complex whole formed by the Ionian people. Oriental influence was transmitted to the Ionians by blood no less than by contact.

In addition to the advantages which they owed to their origin, the Ionians had others afforded by the country. The coast-line, which was full of indentations, both on the mainland and on the neighbouring islands, afforded many sites for good harbours. The difficulties which afterwards arose from the silting up of the estuaries were not yet felt; not until Roman times did the mud brought down by the Mæander and the Cayster cause the ruin of Miletos and Ephesos. The climate of Ionia was, in Herodotos' eyes,² the best in the world. In the north, Æolis, whose soil was on the whole better,³ suffered from cold and wet; in the south, Doris was too hot and dry. The mountain ranges, running perpendicular to the coast, allowed the influence of the Mediterranean to penetrate to the interior of the plateau of Asia Minor by wide valleys. With the same climate, there were the same crops as in Greece. In the valleys were corn-fields and meadows where horses were bred.⁴ On the lower slopes grew fruit-trees—olives, figs, pomegranates, and oranges. Even the plateaus, where the climate was rather of the desert type, were not without resources; they were covered with flocks of sheep, which were so renowned that Polycrates brought his from the valley of the Mæander.⁵ Without practising agriculture themselves, the Ionians found up country all the produce which they needed.

¹ Hdt., i. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 78.

² *Ibid.*, i. 142.

⁵ Ath., xii. 540D.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 149.

Communication with this back country was easy. Each valley offered the caravans a way to the Eastern world. By that of the Hermos ran the Royal Road.¹ From Phocæa, Smyrna, or Ephesos, you went to Sardis and there joined the route which traversed the plateaus of Phrygia and Cappadocia, ran through Pteria, the old Hittite capital, crossed the Euphrates, and, joining the upper Tigris, went down to Susa. From Miletos, the southern route followed the Mæander valley, crossed the steppes of Lycaonia, and, by the Cilician Gates, the plain of Tarsus, and the Syrian Gates, reached the Euphrates at Thapsacos, at its nearest point to the Mediterranean. By these natural roads, Ionia easily entered into relations with the Eastern monarchies, and, first of all, with the great neighbouring state, the Lydo-Phrygian kingdom.² There was an understanding between Greeks and Lydians at an early date, because their interests harmonized. The Greeks required food-stuffs and raw materials from the interior. The Lydians wanted an outlet on the sea and sailors to export the goods brought to Sardis by caravan from the interior. Lydia first produced the type, so frequent later, of the phil-Hellenic foreign king. At the end of the VIIIth century, King Candaules bought a celebrated picture by the painter Bularchos.³ Gyges initiated the liberality of the kings of Lydia to Apollo of Delphi.⁴ Then Alyattes sent the god the mixing-bowl made by Glaucos of Chios,⁵ and Cræsus gave work to Theodoros of Samos,⁶ consulted every oracle of the Greek world,⁷ and heaped gifts upon the shrines of Asiatic and European Greece.⁸ Lydia was Hellenized, and Ionia on its side borrowed from the civilization of Lydia; from the Lydians it received a complete system of weights and measures, and learned the use of money.⁹

So the population of Ionia was born of a mixture of Greek and native peoples and underwent manifold influences, Hellenic and Oriental. Nevertheless, in the VIth century, it had a real unity. All the different elements had blended, and there was no longer anything which marked the differ-

¹ Hdt., v. 52.

² CXXII, p. 7.

³ L, ii, pp. 512, 516.

⁴ Hdt., i. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 25; Strabo, ix. 3. 7; Paus., x. 16. 1.

⁶ XLIX, i, pp. 154, 160.

⁷ Hdt., i. 46.

⁸ Hdt., i. 52, 92; Paus., iii. 10. 8; x. 8. 7; Strabo, ix. 3. 7.

⁹ Hdt., i. 94; CXXII, pp. 154 ff.

ence between immigrants and natives. Constant intercourse between commercial centres had given common interests and common ideas to this population of sailors and traders all over Ionia. The homogeneity of the Ionian world appeared in its language. Herodotos, it is true, distinguishes four dialectal groups,¹ but such differences as there may have been in the spoken languages do not appear in the written language; inscriptions are drafted in the same dialect in all the twelve Ionian cities.² This official Ionian was the earliest of the common languages, the first *κοινή*, that is to say, an established language, half artificial, not popular speech, but a civilized language, ready to become a literary language.³ Through it, the Ionian cities were conscious of being parts of the same whole; very naturally they believed that they had issued from one and the same mother city. Similarities of dialect caused them to recognize a certain kinship with Athens. When Athens was omnipotent in the Ægean, the Ionians no longer had any doubt that this powerful maritime city and wealthy commercial centre was the mother of all the maritime and commercial cities of Ionia.

3. IONIAN CIVILIZATION

The civilization of Asiatic Greece, to which we must add the island world of the Ægean Sea, was almost entirely the work of Ionia. This civilization was formed of different elements, the Mycenæan traditions taken to Asia by the first immigrants on the one hand, and Oriental influences on the other; but it could only attain its full development thanks to the prosperity of the cities of Ionia.

Typical of these cities was Miletos, Miletos the "ornament of Ionia,"⁴ Miletos which, in Roman times, still boasted of being "the most ancient city of Ionia, and the mother of many great cities on the Euxine, in Egypt, and in every region of the inhabited world."⁵ Built on a peninsula nearly two miles long and of an average breadth between half and two-thirds of a mile, it offered all the advantages sought by the Greek colonist, being separated from the mainland by an isthmus closed by high ramparts, and communicating

¹ Hdt., i. 142.

⁴ Hdt., v. 28.

² XLV, p. 78.

⁵ I, i. 2878.

³ XLV, p. 234.

with the sea by four large bays which were all safe shelters. The heart of the city was the great north-east harbour, with two colossal lions guarding the entrance, three lines of wharves and porticoes along the sides, and the shrine of Delphinian Apollo, the ancient protector of sailors and emigrants, overlooking all. From here the Milesian ships sailed in every direction, an innumerable merchant navy, protected by a powerful war fleet. At the battle of Lade, Miletos brought 80 ships into action—only less than the 100 ships of Chios.¹ To feed her trade, she had created an industry. She had learned from the Lydians² the art of weaving and dyeing fabrics and decorating garments and carpets. The woollens of Miletos were greatly prized in Athens,³ and found buyers as far as southern Italy;⁴ the cloak of Antisthenes of Sybaris, with its zones of flowers and figures, was a masterpiece of embroidery in the Oriental style.⁵ On all the markets of the Mediterranean Milesian traders were to be found. Miletos did business with the commercial cities of Eubœa, and was involved in the war between Chalcis and Eretria.⁶ Through the colonies which she had founded from the Hellespont to the Caucasus, she had a monopoly of trade on the Euxine, or something very near it. Though she had no colonies in the western Mediterranean, like Phocæa, she maintained commercial relations with the cities of Great Greece; the destruction of Sybaris affected Miletos like a national disaster.⁷ Her merchants visited the Etruscan ports constantly; until about 480, the goods and vases of Attica were imported into Etruria exclusively by Ionians.⁸

Phocæa, Ephesos, and the other great towns of Ionia, peopled, like Miletos, by a busy throng of merchants, craftsmen, and sailors, were all the scene of the like activity and the like wealth. Everywhere there was the same taste for luxury, the same love of fine fabrics and rich jewels; everywhere there were the same banquets and the same festivals. The courtesans of Ionia were models of elegance and culture, and all antiquity would marvel at the friend of Pericles,

¹ Hdt., vi. 8, 15.

² Ar., *Wasps*, 1139; Schol. on Ar., *Ach.*, 112; Ath., vi. 255E; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii. 1. 6.

³ Ar., *Lys.*, 729.

⁴ Ath., xii. 519B.

⁵ *XL*, xxxiv (1910), pp. 116 ff.

⁶ Hdt., v. 99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 21.

⁸ *CXII*.

Milesian Aspasia. Xenophanes of Colophon shows us his fellow-townsmen strolling on the Agora, "clad all in purple, with their hair beautifully dressed, shedding the perfume of subtle ointments."¹ Still better can we picture the ladies. Here they are themselves, in the statues which the Ionian sculptors set up at Delos, at Delphi, and on the Acropolis of Athens. They are dressed in the Asiatic fashion, or, as Herodotos would say, the Carian fashion.² Over their long linen robes, light and transparent, and gathered into innumerable little folds, falls heavier, ampler woollen drapery, gorgeous with embroidery. On bare arms and amid tresses and curls marvellously dressed is the warm gleam of golden bracelets, ear-rings, and diadems. Smiling, engaging, and dainty, the Ionian *Korai* bloom like frail flowers, shot with colour, the living symbols of the most voluptuous and refined civilization which Greece ever knew.

But the Ionians were not content with material delights; they could also appreciate the things of the spirit. In Ionia the art, science, and literature of Hellas were born. If Ionia was ahead of the rest of the Greek world, it owed it to contact with more ancient civilizations. Ionia learned much from the East, but transformed its spirit so as to create something which was truly Greek.³

The architecture of Ionia was inspired by Oriental architecture. It was in imitation of Egypt that the Ionians arranged colossal statues in two rows along the approach to the temple of Didymæan Apollo, and it was on the same model that Ionians set up the lions along the avenue of the sacred lake at Delos. The local architecture of Lydia and Lycia, where there were forests, but heavy timber was lacking, gave the Ionians a model of light wood-work and roofing. The Ionic order, which translated this wood construction into stone, adopted principles which were expressed in pediments lighter than those of the Doric order, in an entablature in which the cornice rested direct on the architrave, and in columns taller and more slender than the Doric.⁴

To the inspiration drawn from foreign or native arts, the

¹ Xenophan., fr. 3, ap. Ath., xii. 526B.

² Hdt., v. 88.

³ On Oriental influences in the cults of Ionia, see C. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros : recherches sur les sanctuaires et les cultes de l'Ionie du Nord*, Paris, 1922.

⁴ LXVIII, pp. 91 ff.

Ionians added their own qualities, love of ornament, variety of invention, and, in a word, desire to please. In the temple, this appeared in the great place given to sculptured decoration, which not only spread vast compositions over the frieze and made statues act as supports, but even invaded parts where it was in danger of destroying the impression of solidity, for example the bottoms of columns. In sculpture in marble, the favourite material of the statuary of the islands and Ionia, it is seen in the predominance of the feminine type, with all its airs and attractions. Bronze-working, in which the artists of Chios probably learned their technique in Egypt,¹ reveals it in the detailed chiselling which produced perfect jewels, like the great bronze mixing-bowl dedicated by the Samians, with its griffins' heads and kneeling figures,² or the vine with a golden stalk and emerald grapes made for Cræsus by Theodoros of Samos.³ The vase-painter displayed it in the gaiety of his colours and the wealth of imagination which invented a thousand fantastic monsters in the Oriental manner, or, as the Mycenæans and Cretans had once done, delighted in rendering the manifold aspects of nature, the delicacy of a leaf, the coils of a tendril, the supple movement of a cat. The ancients compared Ionic architecture to feminine beauty; this is the impression which Ionian art gives, with its qualities of grace and pliancy, and its defects of softness and finicality.

Ionian art was formed of elements inherited from the Ægeans and others borrowed from the East; the same is true of science. In our ignorance of their language, we cannot say what was the knowledge of the Ægeans, nor how much they may have handed down to the Ionians. But it is fairly easy to determine the contribution of the East. Before the Greeks, the Egyptians and Chaldæans had established the first rudiments of the sciences;⁴ they had invented processes, some less imperfect than others, of arithmetic and land-measuring, and they had made astronomical observations which, without reaching scientific explanations, made it possible to foretell celestial phenomena with some accuracy. The Ionians profited by these results, and first sat at the feet of the Eastern peoples. Thales of Miletos, such as

¹ Diod., i. 98.

² **XLIX**, i, p. 160.

³ **XLIX**, i. p. 151.

⁴ **CXXIII**, p. 76.

tradition presents him, is symbolical of this time when Greece had not yet broken away from Oriental influence. He was Greek, but had native blood in him. It was said that he brought back from his travels among the Eastern peoples knowledge which earned him a name as the wisest man of his day. He could predict eclipses, without being able to explain them, and could draw up the calendar, accompanied, according to custom, by meteorological forecasts;¹ the story went that he had in this way foreseen an exceptional olive-harvest, and, with the business instinct of the Milesian merchant, had at once hired all the oil-presses, in order to secure the monopoly of manufacture.² He sought to explain the origin of the world, and said that everything proceeded from the wet element, as was already maintained by Egyptian cosmology.³ More concerned with practical applications than with pure speculation,⁴ Thales does not seem to have progressed much beyond his Oriental masters.

Yet there must surely have been something more in him, for with his immediate successors science appears, that is to say, the rational study of phenomena and the disinterested pursuit of truth. Anaximandros maintained that the earth was spherical, explained that the moon borrowed its light from the sun, and constructed the first map; he—others said, Anaximenes⁵—gave Sparta its first sundial. Still more striking is the advance made by philosophy. When the natural philosophers of Ionia, from Thales to Heracleitos, enquire into the nature of being, they do not seem to do more than restate in another form what the Oriental cosmogonies had already said about the origin of the universe.⁶ In fact, however, they show a new spirit in these enquiries. What was for the Oriental a matter of religious belief, and was lost in vague obscurity or colossal size, was brought down by the Ionian to the measure of man and subjected to the exercise of reason. Science tried to supersede mythology; Xenophanes of Colophon carried rationalism to the point of examining the gods,⁷ and was indeed the first metaphysician.

The birth of Greek literature is enshrouded in mystery, because we know **nothing** of any Ægean literature that may

¹ CXXIV, p. 66.

² CXXIV, p. 71.

³ Diog. Laert., ii. 1; Pliny, *H. N.*, ii. 187.

⁴ CXXIV, pp. 135-6, 150-2.

⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, i. 4. 5.

⁶ Plato, *Rep.*, x. 600A.

⁷ Plut., *Mor.*, 379B-C.

have existed. Like art and like science, literature first appears to us in Asiatic Greece ; but, if the art or science of Ionia underwent Oriental influences, Ionian literature was already purely Hellenic. If we compare the Homeric poems, notwithstanding long-winded passages and defects of composition, with the exuberant, chaotic poems of the East, which are religious hymns rather than literary productions, we at once recognize the Greek qualities of harmony and proportion. To judge by the language, the foundation of which is *Æolic*,¹ the Homeric poems must have been composed in *Æolis*, the land where the struggles between Greeks and natives had given birth to the legend of the Trojan War ; but they were given their final form in Ionia. It was the Ionian poets who, borrowing words and forms from two types of dialect, created for the epic an artificial language which was not addressed to the crowd, but to a select public. Preserved by a regular guild of singers, the Homeric dialect was the first poetic *κοινή* ; it had severed all local ties, and was equally well understood by all who were brought together, independently of any political or geographical distribution, by one same civilization.² Lyrical poetry, more popular and more personal, was content with local forms of speech ; *Alcæos* and *Sappho* sang in the popular *Æolic* of Lesbos, and *Anacreon* of Teos, *Mimnermos* of Smyrna, and *Archilochos* of Paros in the popular *Ionic*. But, just as the Ionians had created a common poetic language, so too they spread over the whole Greek world that wonderful instrument of thought and expression, literary prose.³ *Ionian* prose, which was used by the first chroniclers, soon passed the boundaries of Ionia, for it was the language of the greater civilization. In *Æolic*-speaking country, *Hellanicos* of Lesbos wrote his historical works in *Ionic* ; in lands of *Doric* speech, *Antiochos* of Syracuse wrote his *Sicilian* chronicle in *Ionic*, and *Hippocrates* of Cos wrote his medical treatises in the same language. The dominion of *Ionian* prose was such that the *Attic* writers would have great difficulty in freeing themselves from it, when they in their turn created a literary language common to the whole Greek world.

¹ *XLV*, pp. 176, 186.

² *XLV*, p. 190.

³ *XLV*, p. 233.

4. THE CONQUEST OF ASIATIC GREECE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In the VIth century, there was no Greek country to compare with Ionia in economic wealth or intellectual development. While the Greeks of Europe were emerging with difficulty from the semi-barbarism which followed the Dorian invasion, and the towns were convulsed by political crises and social conflicts, and wars between cities never ceased, the Ionians, continuing without interruption the Ægean civilization, and profiting by the progress already made by the East, were growing rich by their labour, tasting the pleasures of luxury and the delights of the spirit, and enjoying all the blessings of peace. It is remarkable that the very word for "peace" was adopted by the Greeks in its Ionic form—*εἰρήνη*.¹

But this brilliant civilization was weak on many sides. The progress of wealth and luxury had developed too great a love of comfort and a general softness. Half Orientalized, the Ionians had lost the virile qualities which were essentially Dorian, and, by the Dorians, were maintained and strengthened in Greece Proper. The plump arms lacked muscle, the effeminate spirits courage.² "Once upon a time the Milesians were brave," was the proverb for times gone for ever.³ The Ionians were bad soldiers, unable to stand the heat of the sun or fatigue, and, even in critical circumstances, they would not submit to the monotony and effort of military training.⁴ Like the Greeks of Europe, they could not unite; when Thales advised the creation of an Ionian state with Teos as its political centre and all the cities as demes,⁵ no one would listen to him. Lastly, they were ill defended by nature; the great valleys leading from the Anatolian plateau to the coast offered a road not only to merchants, but to invaders.

Their danger was all the greater because they had neighbours, better armed, energetic, and active, who used their genuine military qualities in the pursuit of clearly conceived ambitions. The Lydian kingdom needed outlets to the sea. Its interest was, not to destroy the cities whose ships and

¹ *XLV*, p. 235.

⁴ *Hdt.*, vi. 12.

² *Ath.*, xii. 524f-526d.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 170.

³ *Ath.*, xii. 523f.

seamen served its trade, but to keep them in a state of dependence. The military enterprises which the kings of Sardis conducted against the Ionian cities were simply raids, intended to harass and disquiet the Greeks, that they might accept a Lydian protectorate for the sake of peace. At Miletos, the state of insecurity maintained for a dozen years by the conflict started by Lydia decided the tyrant Thrasybulos in 604 to conclude with Alyattes, King of Sardis, an agreement nominally of alliance and hospitality, but actually of protectorate, to the profit of Lydia.¹ At Ephesos the agreement was sealed by marriages between Lydian princesses and the tyrants of the Melas family.² The last of the Mermnads, Crœsus, finally accomplished the policy inaugurated by his predecessors, "alliance with the Greeks of Europe, protectorate over the Greeks of Asia."³ His offerings at Delphi, at Ephesos, at the sanctuary of the Branchidæ, at Thebes, at the Amphiaræion, bore witness to his phil-Hellenism. But, at the same time, he completed the incorporation in the Lydian empire of all the Greek cities of Æolis, Ionia, and Doris.⁴ The Lydian protectorate was easily accepted by the Greeks, who needed the interior as much as Lydia needed the coast. This agreement, based on common interests, was so well-founded that when Cyrus went to war with Crœsus he called upon the Greek cities to revolt in vain ; Miletos alone declared for the Persians.⁵

But, although they remained loyal to Crœsus, the Ionian cities were too indolent to support him when they saw him seriously threatened. They looked on, without lifting a hand, at the taking of Sardis and the downfall of the kingdom of the Mermnads (546). They appreciated the danger of neutrality when they saw the Persians coming ; in vain they hastened to send ambassadors to Cyrus, and to declare themselves ready to accept the same form of protectorate from the Persians as they had had under the Lydians. Cyrus desired a more effective submission ; his general Harpagus reduced the Greek cities one by one ; incorporated in the empire, they had to receive garrisons and to pay tribute.

The Persian domination would not necessarily have ruined Ionian civilization. According to their wont, the Persians

¹ Hdt., i. 22 ; **CXXII**, p. 194. ² Ael., *V. H.*, iii. 26 ; **CXXII**, p. 199.
³ **CXXII**, p. 169. ⁴ Hdt., i. 6. ⁵ Hdt., i. 76, 141, 169.

left the conquered a certain amount of self-government. They did not interfere in the internal affairs of the cities, and were content to maintain the tyrants, who became in reality the agents of Persia. Under the Persian protectorate, as under the Lydian, the cities could pursue their economic development, and retain their intellectual brilliance. But for Greeks, with their love of independence, any kind of subjection was unbearable, and, with the loss of freedom, the activity of the city fell asleep.

It was in the countries which had escaped conquest that Ionian civilization continued its development. The centre of Asiatic Greece shifted, and Samos, protected by its insular position, took up the inheritance of Miletos. Supported by a powerful war navy, which made him, according to Herodotos, the first Greek thalassocrat,¹ the tyrant Polycrates intervened in the conflict between Persia and Egypt. He had a brilliant court which attracted poets and artists. The town was adorned with utilitarian constructions, like the aqueduct of Eupalinos,² and great religious monuments, like the temple of Hera.³ Polycrates came to have the legendary character of the rich and mighty sovereign, who succeeded in everything and, like Crœsus, afforded a notable illustration of the vicissitudes of fate and of the danger in which man stands of awakening the jealousy of the gods. As a fact, he was the victim less of Nemesis than of his own intrigues and trickery, which united all his neighbours against him. He was put to death by order of the satrap of Sardis, and Samos was made subject to the Great King.

The Persian conquest drove the Ionians abroad. Rather than accept the yoke, the inhabitants of Teos and those of Phocæa emigrated in a body, the former to Thrace, the latter to Corsica.⁴ Apart from these collective movements, many Greeks of Asia left their country. The Ionian artists went and worked in Europe. Bathycles of Magnesia made a decoration of metal reliefs for the throne of Amyclæan Apollo in Laconia; Ionian and Samian sculptors carved the feminine statues which Athenian piety set up *ex voto* on the Acropolis; going yet further, the sculptors Pythagoras of

¹ Hdt., iii. 122; Thuc., iii. 104.

² Hdt., iii. 60; **XLVII**, viii, pp. 24 ff.

³ Strabo, xiv. 1. 14; Paus., vii. 4. 4.

⁴ Hdt., i. 164-8.

Samos emigrated to Great Greece, and Bion of Miletos to Sicily. The same exodus carried off the poets ; Epicharmos of Cos settled in Syracuse, and Anacreon of Teos, after singing at the court of Polycrates, ended his life at the court of the Peisistratids. Lastly, the philosophers left for foreign parts ; Pythagoras of Samos settled in Croton, and Xenophanes of Colophon founded the school of Elea.

This dispersion of the Ionians was of the greatest consequence for the development of Greek civilization. Ionia had been the first centre of Hellenic culture. Already, while Ionia was still independent, this civilization had extended further and further, winning not only the whole of Asiatic Greece, but also the islands of the *Ægean* and the mainland of Europe, and penetrating among the Dorians of the Peloponnese as well as among the Athenians, who spoke the same language and claimed to be of the same race. Greece was gradually being educated by Ionia. The development took great strides on the conquest of the Ionian cities. The Ionian emigrants—merchants, mariners, artists, poets, and thinkers—carried everywhere the refinements of a higher culture. While Ionia, become Persian, remained rich, but slept under foreign domination, European Greece took up its heritage, and worked in its turn to develop Greek civilization and to form the Greek genius.

CHAPTER III

GREEK EXPANSION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

1. THE COLONIES OF THE EUXINE

HAVING established themselves on both sides of the Ægean Sea, the Greeks of Europe and Asia proceeded, about the end of the VIIIth century, to pursue their expansion over the whole eastern basin of the Mediterranean. Their settlement would be more or less easy, and their influence more or less effective, according as the emigrants found themselves confronted by barbarous tribes or peoples long civilized.

The move northwards took place in stages. The legends, it is true, placed in heroic times the voyages of the Argonauts to the ends of the Black Sea, as far as magical Cholcis. But this was antedating progress, which was continuous, but slow.

Advancing step by step, the Greeks first reached the head of the Ægean Sea. The men of Chalcis, after occupying the small islands north of Eubœa, crossed to the peninsula opposite, which was henceforward called, after its occupants, Chalcidice. There they founded Torone and the other cities of the peninsula of Sithonia, while their Eretrian neighbours established themselves on the peninsula of Pallene. Andros sent colonists to Acanthos and Stageira. Finally, in the first half of the VIth century, the Corinthians arrived, and founded Potidæa. At the same time as Chalcidice, the shores of Thrace received Greek immigrants. In the first half of the VIIth century Thasos had been occupied by the Parians; in their turn, the Thasians landed on the neighbouring coast and occupied several points, while beside them the Chians had settled at Maroneia. About the middle of the VIth century, Abdera was founded by Clazomenæ, and Ænos by Mytilene. The Greek settlements in Chalcidice and Thrace seem to have been, above all, centres of exploita-

tion. The colonists were attracted less by the agricultural wealth of the inland basins than by the forests of Chalcidice, which supplied ship-builders with timber and resin, and still more by the precious metals, in particular gold. After the mines of Thasos, which had perhaps been discovered by the Phœnicians,¹ those of the mainland were worked—Scape Hyle,² Daton,³ and Mount Pangæos.⁴ But the Greeks came into collision with the natives. While the inhabitants of Macedonia seem to have received them in a trustful spirit, the peoples of Thrace, who were rude and warlike, resisted the establishment of the strangers. The Clazomenians who had settled at Abdera could not hold out against their attacks, and to consolidate the settlement a second wave of immigrants was needed, in the person of the Teians, driven out of Asia by the Persian conquest. It was not until the IVth century that the Thracian princes, the rulers of the great kingdom of the Odrysians, became Hellenized and figured in Greek history as allies of Athens.⁵

While the Greeks were advancing up the coast of Europe, they were doing likewise up that of Asia. From Lesbos and Tenedos, which were for a long time the advanced posts of Hellenism, the Greeks occupied the coast of the Troad and arrived at the entrance of the Hellespont. They at once perceived how desirable it was to hold the route to the north. Moreover, the currents and winds, which bore southwards, practically obliged navigators to put into port in the straits. For a long time they had avoided the difficult passage by taking the land road across the isthmus which was commanded by the fort of Troy. In the ports of the Hellespont, one could both watch the route and wait for the most favourable moment. On the European shore, the Lesbians installed themselves at Sestos, while on the Asiatic side, towards which the current flowed, the Milesians founded Abydos and the Phocæans Lampsacos. Beyond the straits, on the Propontis, Miletos founded Cyzicos about 675, and numerous Milesian settlements sprang up round it. The European shore was more neglected than the Asiatic; not until the beginning of the VIth century did the Samians found Perinthos there.

¹ Hdt., vi. 46-7. ² Hdt., vi. 46; Thuc., i. 100; iv. 105; Plut., *Cim.*, 4.

³ Hdt., ix. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 112; Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 15; Strabo, xiv. 5. 28.

⁵ CXXXV.

Lastly, north of the Propontis, was the second strait. In the Bosphorus the Greeks encountered the same difficulties in navigation¹ as in the Hellespont, and it was equally desirable to hold the passage. The two shores were occupied by colonies, at once ports of call and watch-posts. On the Asiatic side, the Megarians founded Chalcedon, and, some years later, on the European side, Byzantion.

Now the Greek mariners saw a new sea lying before them, the Euxine. The sea without an island on it, the sky enshrouded in mists, the violent, icy squalls, the straight, inhospitable coasts, everything must have appeared strange to men who only knew the clear sky, the warm waters, and the smiling shores of the Ægean. Legend had, from the straits onwards, heaped magic and dangers on the path of the Argonauts. Nevertheless, at an early date Greek sailors boldly plunged into the unknown. They followed the coasts, and colonization advanced at the same pace on the Asiatic and European shores. It was almost entirely the work of Miletos. About 630, the Milesians founded Sinope, at the end of the caravan routes which came over Asia Minor from Mesopotamia. In the first half of the VIth century, the coast of Paphlagonia was covered with Milesian settlements, and then, about the middle of the century, Amisos was founded beyond the River Halys, and Trapezus further east. At the end of the Black Sea, Dioscurias exploited the almost fabulous land of Cholcis. On the European shore, Miletos founded Istros, south of the delta of the Danube, about the same time as Sinope, and then, at the beginning of the VIth century, Olbia at the mouth of the Bug. In the VIth century cities were dotted all along the coast of Scythia—Tyras, Odessos, and Apollonia—and on the Crimea and neighbouring shores—Theodosia on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Panticapæon at the end of Lake Mæotis, and Tanais at the mouth of the Don, the northernmost point reached by Greek colonization.² For about a century the Milesians were the sole masters of the shores of the Euxine. About the middle of the VIth century, the Megarians, already established on the Bosphorus, penetrated in their turn into the Black Sea,

¹ LXVII, pp. 9–11; Strabo, i. 3. 5; Arist., *Meteor.*, i. 353a.

² For the relations of the Greeks with the peoples of southern Russia, see Rostovtzeff (M.), *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

and filled the gap left between the Bosphorus and Paphlagonia; here, in co-operation with Bœotian settlers, they founded Heracleia, which, in its turn, sent colonists to Callatis and Chersonesos, while Megarian Chalcedon founded Mesembria.

The colonies of the Euxine were only colonies of exploitation. The Greek did not feel at home in a country where the harsh climate did not let him grow his familiar trees, the vine and the olive. There could not be a Black Sea Greece, as there was an Italian or a Sicilian Greece, that is to say, a completely Hellenized country with a dense Greek population. The Greek cities on the Euxine were isolated units, drowned in the midst of foreign populations which remained hostile. Only in the fairy-tales do we hear of the virtue of the Hyperboreians, those remote worshippers of Apollo,¹ or find the Scythian Anacharsis among the Seven Sages of Greece.² The peoples of the Euxine were regarded by the Greeks as the most ignorant on earth,³ and the Scythians evinced, it was said, such an aversion for foreign ways, and for Greek civilization in particular, that Anacharsis⁴ and Scyles⁵ paid for their attempts at Hellenization with their lives. Not until the IVth century did Athens, in the Crimea as in Thrace, succeed in conciliating the native kings and in making semi-Hellenes of them.

The Greek cities of the Euxine had no other purpose but to exploit the local resources. These were considerable, and capable of feeding an active export trade. On the coasts and the Russian rivers there were the sturgeon and tunny fisheries and the preparation of salted goods; on the Black Lands of south Russia there was corn-growing; in the mountain regions of Armenia and the Caucasus there were the mines, the wealth of which gave birth to the fairy-tales about the Arimaspians and the treasure-guarding griffins; and there was the slave-trade pretty well everywhere. Demos, good man, liked nothing better than a Paphlagonian slave.⁶

As ports of embarkation for local produce, the cities of the Euxine contributed mightily to the economic prosperity of Greece, and particularly of their mother city Miletos; but

¹ Hdt., iv. 32-5.

² Hdt., iv. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 78-80.

⁴ **XXX**, s.v. *Anacharsis*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 76.

⁶ Ar., *Knights*, 44 and *passim*.

they remained outside the Greek world. Sentinels of Hellenism, forgotten in the northern mists, they did little for the development of the Greek genius.

2. CYPRUS AND THE SEMITIC WORLD

Greek expansion in the south proceeded very differently from that in the north. In the latter case the Hellenes encountered barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples; in the former, on the other hand, they came up against organized, civilized states, able to resist foreign influence. The southern coast of Asia Minor, where the Lycians prevailed, remained almost outside the Greek world. Certain points only were occupied—Phaselis, a Rhodian foundation, in Pamphylia, and Celenderis and Soli, foundations of Samos and Rhodes respectively, in Cilicia. On the coasts of Syria, the domain of the Phœnicians, no Greek settlement was possible.

Contact between the Greek and Semitic worlds was effected in Cyprus. The isolation of the Greeks of Cyprus was such that on that island alone Greek had been handed down in an alphabet other than the Hellenic. This syllabic Cypriot alphabet went back to Ægean times, and had been used to write a pre-Hellenic language, which was still spoken in Cyprus in historical times. Although very ill-adapted to the Greek language, since the same sign stood for several different syllables, for example, τa , δa , and θa , it remained in use until classical times. The inscriptions by which we know it are not earlier than the VIth or Vth century.¹

At the same time as the Greeks, the Phœnicians appeared in Cyprus. The kings of Tyre led expeditions to the island, in the Xth or the VIIIth century, to levy tribute. The Phœnicians established themselves chiefly on the coast facing their own country, around Citium and Amathus. Thenceforward the island was divided between the two civilizations. The domination of Assyria, and later of Persia, favoured Phœnician influence,² but the Greeks held their ground. The kings of Salamis claimed descent from Ajax,³ and maintained relations with the sanctuary of Delphi; the kings of Soli welcomed Greek travellers at their court.⁴

¹ XLV, p. 88.

³ Isocr., *Euag.*, 19.

² LL, p. 117; L, i, p. 101; Hdt., iii. 19.

⁴ Hdt., v. 113; Plut., *Sol.*, 26.

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When Ionia rose against Darius, the princes of Cyprus made common cause with the Greeks of Asia.¹ After the Persian Wars, the Athenians took an interest in Cyprus, not only on account of its resources in forests and mines, but even more in view of its strategic position between Egypt and Persia. In the IVth century their ally Euagoras of Salamis caused Greek influence to predominate for a time, but it never completely eliminated Asiatic elements. Cypriot art, half Greek, half Oriental, expresses the character of this island, for which two worlds contended.

3. THE GREEKS IN EGYPT ²

In Egypt the Greeks encountered greater difficulties than in Semitic country, because they were there faced by a highly developed civilization which closed its doors to foreigners. But we must not exaggerate the exclusiveness of Egypt. There had been very active intercourse between the Egyptian and Aegean worlds. Egyptian objects are found in the Cretan palaces, and Cretan objects in the Egyptian tombs. Later the Hellenes, newly arrived in the eastern Mediterranean, appeared in the armies which the Hittites and Libyans sent against the Pharaohs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In Homeric times, Greek mariners raided the Delta, carrying off men and cattle.³ It was in Egypt that Menelaos, according to the tradition dramatized by Euripides, found the real Helen, whose phantom the Greeks had pursued to Troy.⁴ It was against the pirates⁵ that the Egyptians had to arm themselves and to take measures of protection, which classical historians regarded as a deliberate policy of excluding all foreigners from Egyptian territory.

In spite of these measures, the Milesians succeeded, in the second half of the VIIIth century, in obtaining a footing in the country and establishing a trading station there, the "Milesians' Wall," a precarious settlement, which was a prey to vexation and obstruction on the part of Egyptian

¹ Hdt., v. 104, 109-16.

² M. Mallet's study on the first settlements of the Greeks in Egypt (CXXVII) is continued by a second work by the same writer, *Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte, de la conquête de Cambyse à celle d'Alexandre* (Mém. de l'Inst. Français du Caire, vol. xlviii, 1922).

³ *Od.*, xiv. 246 ff.

⁴ Cf. Hdt., ii. 112-20.

⁵ Hdt., ii. 152.

officials.¹ Circumstances helped the Greeks; they took advantage of Assyrian expeditions and civil wars to mix themselves up in the affairs of the country, and to make themselves indispensable. With the support of a Milesian fleet, they had repulsed the attacks of the Egyptians. This proof of their military superiority had drawn upon them the attention of Psammetichus of Sais, who took them into his service in order to shake off the Assyrian yoke and to restore the unity of the Pharaonic empire. After his victory, Psammetichus established his Greek mercenaries at Daphnæ, in a camp which commanded the eastern frontier.² Later, Amasis brought them in to Memphis.³ We find them fighting in Upper Egypt, above the First Cataract,⁴ and, thirty thousand strong, supporting Apries against his rival Amasis.⁵ They held such a position in the Egyptian army that the Egyptians complained of the favour shown them.⁶

Friendly relations commenced between Egypt and Greece. Just as the Greeks were beginning to know the road to the Oracle of Ammon,⁷ so phil-Hellenic Pharaohs honoured Greek sanctuaries. Necho dedicated to the god of the Branchidæ the garment which he had worn on his Syrian campaign;⁸ Amasis sent offerings to Athene of Lindos⁹ and Hera of Samos,¹⁰ and contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.¹¹ Above all, in return for their services, the Greeks obtained a permanent settlement and lasting concessions. Psammetichus authorized them to establish themselves on the Canopic Branch at Naucratis, and the Greek colony received its final organization from Amasis.¹² The city was open to all Greeks; among the Hellenic colonies it is the only instance of an international town. Round a common sanctuary, significantly named the Hellenion, nine cities of Asiatic Greece were grouped, belonging to the three great racial divisions. Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ represented the Ionians, Mytilene the Æolians, and Rhodes, Halicarnassos, Cnidos, and Phaselis the Dorians. The Milesians, Samians, and Æginetans formed separate groups, with their own temples.¹³ Each people occupied a certain

¹ Strabo, xvii. l. 18.

⁴ CXXVII, p. 82.

⁷ Paus., v. 15. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 182.

² Diod., i. 67; Hdt., ii. 154.

⁵ Hdt., ii. 163, 169.

⁸ Hdt., ii. 159.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 180.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ii. 178.

³ Diod., i. 67.

⁶ CXXVIII, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 182.

¹² *Ibid.*, ii. 178.

quarter, and had its magistrates and law-courts, from which, if necessary, appeal could be made to the jurisdiction of the mother city.

Naucratis quickly became a great centre of trade. For the Greeks it was the official port of Egypt. All goods imported from Greece had to go through Naucratis.¹ From here Egyptian stuff was sent—for example, the little faience articles which have been found not only at Miletos, but in Milesian colonies right at the end of the Euxine.² At Naucratis many workshops manufactured for sale abroad. The pottery trade, probably introduced by the Rhodians,³ turned out vases which were sent, not only to Egypt, but to Cyprus, Athens, Ionia, and even the Crimea.⁴ Like all wealthy commercial cities, Naucratis was a town of luxury and pleasure. Its courtesans were renowned for their beauty, and Rhodopis acquired, all over the Greece of the VIth century, a legendary fame equal to that of Phryne in the IVth.⁵

In spite of the settlement of the Greeks at Naucratis, the two worlds remained strangers to one another. The Greeks may have taken certain technical processes from the Egyptians; the statuaries of Chios learned methods of casting in Egypt, and the export of Egyptian papyrus made the diffusion of literary works possible. But the two civilizations did not interpenetrate or blend. It is remarkable that we at no moment perceive an appreciable influence of the Egyptian language on Greek.⁶ The Greeks were generally ignorant of the language of the country, lived apart from the natives, and understood neither their institutions nor their manners. Herodotos travelled in Egypt, visited the temples, and saw the sights; but he only saw the outward setting. He accepted popular romances and the yarns of his ciceroni as if they were historical narratives, and was quite unable to criticize them; he transformed the epithets applied by the story-tellers to the heroes of their tales into illustrious personages.⁷ Like a good Greek, for whom Hellas was the centre of the world, he was blind to all the native characteristics of Egyptian civilization, and imagined that

¹ Hdt., ii. 179; iii. 6.

² Marshall (F.A.), *Discovery in Greek Lands* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 43.

³ CXXVII, p. 199.

⁴ L, ii, p. 498.

⁵ Hdt., ii. 134-5.

⁶ XLV, p. 52.

⁷ CXXVI, iii, pp. 798-9.

he saw everywhere the gods and even the institutions of Greece; the goddess Neith of Sais, with her bow and her weaving,¹ could only be Athene,² and the best Solon could do was to borrow one of his laws from Amasis.³

4. CYRENAICA

West of the Egyptian world, the Greeks found barbarous regions, where their colonizing activity had free play, as in the north. The first Greeks who visited the country must have been driven on to the coast of Africa by the chance of wind and current; Jason, it was said, wishing to round the Peloponnese on his way to Delphi, was driven by the north wind from Cape Malea to the shores of Libya.⁴ A similar mishap more than once befell ships from the Peloponnese or Crete.⁵ So the earliest Greek settlements in Libya probably dated from very remote times. But, as in Cyprus, these first colonists were reinforced by the arrival of new emigrants; these were the Dorians of Thera, who, accompanied by other islanders,⁶ came about 630, and established a "factory" of the Milesian kind on the islet of Platea. From there they crossed over to the coast, and founded the city of Cyrene inland.⁷ About fifty years later, the arrival of a new body of emigrants from the Peloponnese and Crete made it possible to extend Greek sway and to occupy more land.⁸ The tribes into which the city was divided recalled the diverse origins of the population; one was formed of Theræans, another of Peloponnesians and Cretans, and the third of islanders.⁹

The colonization of Cyrene was first and foremost agricultural. The region occupied was very fertile. The soil, which was formed of a rich humus and was watered by regular, periodic rains,¹⁰ yielded abundance of wheat and barley, which people gathered in three successive harvests, working inland from the coast.¹¹ The hills were covered with vines and fruit-trees.¹² Lastly, wide prairies¹³ made it possible to rear cattle and horses; the rulers of Cyrene had

¹ CXXVIII, pp. 9, 10, 86, 241.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 177.

³ E.g. Rhodians. Cf. *Lindian Chronicle*, §xvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 157-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 158; Pind., *Pyth.*, iv. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 50; Hdt., iv. 199; Pind., *Pyth.*, ix. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Pyth.*, ix. 55.

¹⁰ Hdt., ii. 59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iv. 151.

¹² *Ibid.*, iv. 161.

a racing-stable which many times won crowns at Delphi and Olympia. There was hardly any industry but a branch of the potteries of Laconia. The most famous example of the Cyrenaic ware with a white slip¹ represents a thoroughly local scene—King Arcesilas looking on at the weighing and embarkation of silphium, an aromatic plant which was sent to Greece in great quantities for culinary and medicinal purposes.

Cyrene was governed by a royal house descended from the founder Battos. But here, as elsewhere, the kingship gradually lost its political prerogatives, and was reduced to a religious rôle and purely ornamental functions.² Party struggles led to the foundation of new cities; colonization was extended by the creation of Barce on the plateau and Teucheira and Euhesperidæ on the coast. But on the east and on the west the Greeks encountered rivals and enemies. On the east there was Egypt, which had seen the settlement of the Greeks in Cyrenaica with uneasiness. In 570 Pharaoh Apries, at the call of the natives, undertook against Cyrene an expedition which failed.³ His successor Amasis preferred neighbourly relations, and married a Greek lady of Cyrene.⁴ On the west there were the Phœnicians of Carthage. The Greeks would have liked to advance on this side, in the country where tradition placed one of the resting-places of Odysseus, the land of the Lotus-Eaters. Attracted by the agricultural wealth of a country where, to the Greek imagination, wheat yielded three-hundredfold,⁵ Dorieus, the brother of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, came and settled on the coast, at the mouth of the Cinyps. After three years of effort and strife, he was forced by the Carthaginians to abandon his undertaking and to return to the Peloponnese.⁶

¹ Babelon, *Cab. des Ant.*, pl. xii, pp. 37–40.

² Hdt., iv. 159–62.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 159–60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 181.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 198.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 42.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK EXPANSION IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

I. THE GREEKS IN ITALY AND SICILY

THE crossing of the Ægean Sea was rendered easy by the presence of a world of islands which led the sailor step by step to his destination. To the west, the Ionian Sea contained no islands except close along the mainland, and Greek mariners might hesitate before setting forth over open tracts of water. Nevertheless, here too there were natural conditions which aided navigation. One current, from the Ægean, ran up the Greek coast towards the Adriatic;¹ another, from the Adriatic, hugged southern Italy closely, and finally washed the eastern coasts of Sicily, about the point where the earliest Greek colony, Naxos, was founded.²

So there was intercourse at a very early date between the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and the coasts of Italy and Sicily. Legend made Minos die on an expedition to Sicily. Better than by mythical stories, these relations are proved by the discoveries made in the cemeteries of Sicily and the Tarentine Gulf, in the shape of vases and bronze weapons belonging to the latest Mycenæan periods. This road, opened by the Ægeans, was followed by the Hellenes. The wanderings of Odysseus took him to Sicily and the Bay of Naples. When the Achæans were driven from the Peloponnese by the Dorians, while some reached the shores of Asia, others made for the west. Memories survived of ancient settlements in southern Italy, far earlier than the arrival of the colonists of the VIIIth century.

The Greeks naturally settled in districts as near to their own country as possible, namely, on the shores of the Tarentine Gulf. There the earliest colonies were founded—Metapontion, Sybaris, and Croton. The Crotoniates built near Cape Lacinion a temple of Hera, which was the religious

¹ LXVII, p. 3.

² CXXX, p. 328.

centre of the Greeks of Italy. These cities ascribed their foundation to Achæa. But the small towns of classical Achæa little deserved the rank of mother cities. When they called themselves Achæan, the colonies of the Tarentine Gulf were preserving the dim memory of the Achæans of days before the Dorian conquest. In reality the immigrants were of mixed origin. As in Ionia, the first colonists included both conquered Achæans and conquering Dorians. Sybaris, according to tradition, was founded both by Achæans and by



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Dorians from Trœzen. The dialects of the cities were related, not to the old common Achæan, but to the Doric dialects. Taras, founded about the same time, was more frankly Dorian. She regarded Sparta as her mother city, and ascribed her foundation to the sons born of misalliances between Spartiate women and Laconians during the Messenian Wars.¹ And indeed the dialect of Taras was that of Laconia, her institutions were closely modelled on those of Sparta, and her national god was the Poseidon who was worshipped on Cape

¹ Diod., viii. 21.

Tænaron. The Tarentines, checked by the warlike tribes of the Iapygians, hardly held more than the immediate surroundings of their city; the Achæan colonies, on the other hand, extended their territory into the back country. Little by little, the whole of southern Italy was Hellenized, and became Great Greece.

Sicily was colonized after Italy. The new wave of emigrants, finding the shores of the Tarentine Gulf already occupied, continued on its way and reached those of Sicily. The Chalcidians arrived first. In the middle of the VIIIth century they founded Naxos, the oldest Greek colony in Sicily, and set up the altar of Apollo Archegetes, about which all the Greeks of Sicily grouped themselves. From Naxos they went southwards, founding Catane and Leontion, and to the north, where they built Zancle and Rhegion to hold the two sides of the strait by which they could reach the Tyrrhenian Sea. Following the Chalcidians' example, their neighbours, the Locrians of Opus, settled at the beginning of the VIIth century at Epizephyrian Locri, between the Chalcidian and the Achæan colonies. About forty years after the Chalcidians, the Corinthians arrived. Making their way from the Gulf of Corinth to the Ionian Sea, they had first settled on Corcyra, expelling or absorbing the Eretrian colonists who were there before them; from there, at the end of the VIIth century and the beginning of the VIth, they carried out the exploration and exploitation of the Adriatic, founding, in co-operation with Corcyra, the colonies of Acarnania, Epeiros, and Illyria. About the same time as they went to Corcyra, the Corinthians arrived in Sicily. Being compelled to go further south than the Chalcidians, they founded Syracuse about 730, and that city presently extended its influence by founding Camarina on the coast and Acræ in the interior. About the same time as the Corinthians, the Megarians landed in Sicily, and founded Megara Hyblæa; but, cramped between the Chalcidian colonies and Syracuse, Megara Hyblæa could not expand, and had to send her colonists far away to the south coast, where they settled at Selinus. The colonization of Sicily was almost entirely the work of men from Greece Proper; of the eastern Greeks, the Rhodians alone, combining with the Cretans, took part. These, finding the eastern coast already

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occupied, settled on the southern coast. Gela was founded in the first half of the VIIth century, and a century later she herself founded Acragas.

On the shores of the Tarentine Gulf and the eastern coast of Sicily Greek cities were crowded together, and the whole country was Hellenized. On the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea Greek settlements were more sporadic. Colonists came there by land and by sea. From the one side, the Achæans of Great Greece crossed the isthmus separating them from the Tyrrhenian Sea and established new colonies on the coast—Laos, Pyxus, and Poseidonia. From the other, the Chalcidians, who held the straits, settled at Himera, the only Greek foundation on the northern coast of Sicily, and reached Campania, where, on the site of an Italian town, they founded Cumæ (Cyme). There was no justification for the boast of Cumæ that it was the oldest Greek colony in the west; but it was at least a busy centre of Hellenism, and surrounded itself in the VIth century with colonies, such as Neapolis and Dicæarcheia.

2. THE CIVILIZATION OF SICILIAN AND ITALIAN GREECE

No region of the Mediterranean seemed to offer such advantages to Greek colonization as Great Greece and Sicily. Whereas the very geographical conditions prevented the establishments on the Euxine from being more than centres of exploitation, the colonies in the west seemed made by nature to be permanent settlements of a Greek population. There the Greeks found everything which they had left in their own country—the same type of coast and mountain, the same climate, the same vegetation, the same forms of agriculture. The first settlers looked chiefly for land to cultivate, and the fertile plains of Italy and Sicily offered them more than they could want. This western Greece always owed its greatest wealth to the soil.¹ The country yielded corn in plenty.² Men naturally placed in Sicily, as in every wheat country, the legend of Demeter, the rape of Core, and the appearance of the first grain of wheat.³ Wild

¹ Pind., *Ol.*, i. 12; Strabo, vi. 2. 7; Diod., v. 2; xi. 25, 72; xii. 54; xiv. 78.

² Theophr., *H. P.*, viii. 6. 6; *C. P.*, iv. 9. 5.

³ Diod., v. 2, 4; xi. 26; Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 82; Plut., *Tim.*, 8; *Mor.*, 917r.

wheat was believed to exist still on those fields of Leontion¹ which Heracles, it was said, could not see without shouts of wonder.² Rumour further improved on reality; it was said that at Sybaris the wheat yielded a hundredfold,³ and that in Campania three or four harvests could be taken in a year.⁴ The production of the fields was glorified in coin-types of sheaves, ears, and grains of wheat or barley. So great was it, that Gelon could propose to supply the Greek armies with all the corn they needed during the war against Xerxes.⁵ Next in importance to corn were vines and olives. According to the legend, Demeter and Dionysos contended of old for Campania.⁶ When they first arrived the Greeks called Italy "Wineland," *Ænotria*.⁷ Agragas exported oil and wine to Carthage,⁸ and the wealthy Gellias had three hundred *πίθοι* dug in the rock there, to hold his harvest.⁹ Finally, Sicily and Great Greece practised pastoral life; flocks of sheep grazed on the heights, while the meadows fed the oxen which Sybaris portrayed on her coins. The development of agriculture explains the importance assumed by landed property; in Syracuse, Locri, and Metapontion the great landlords ruled the State. The Geomori of Syracuse had their land tilled by the natives, whom they had reduced to serfdom.

From the exploitation of the soil, too, industry was derived. Pottery was manufactured at Sybaris for the export of liquids. The hides, renowned as far as Attica,¹⁰ and the wool worked by the weavers and dyers of Taras were supplied by cattle. In short, export trade was fed by farm produce of all kinds. Sea trade was concentrated at a few points. The oldest cities were built inland, natural harbours being few and often in danger of silting from the coast rivers. In Great Greece, Taras alone had a large, well-protected roadstead. It was therefore an important centre of fishery and sea-borne trade. A hoard of coins which was found at Taras bears witness to the extent of the trade of the city. It contains coins, not only of every Greek city in Italy and Sicily, but also of Cyrene, Corcyra, Corinth, Ægina,

¹ Diod., v. 2.

² Diod., iv. 24.

³ Varro, *Agr.*, i. 44; cf. Diod., xi. 90.

⁴ Strabo, v. 4. 3; Dion H., i. 37; cf. Diod., xii. 31.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 15.

⁶ Eulogy of Campania, Pliny, *H. N.*, iii. 40-2.

⁷ Strabo, vi. 1. 4.

⁸ Diod., xiii. 81.

⁹ Diod., viii. 83.

¹⁰ Ath., i. 27E.

Athens, Phocæa, Chios, and even Thrace and Macedonia. On the Sicilian coast the great commercial centre was Syracuse, with its two harbours sheltered by the islet of Ortygia, where the first colonists had settled. Trade was as active on the land roads as on the sea. Since Rhegion and Zancle commanded the two sides of the straits, and let none but Chalcidians pass, the cities on the Tarentine Gulf could only reach the Tyrrhenian Sea by land, and had to establish portages across the isthmus. Sybaris grew rich thanks to the trade road which connected it with Laos; Siris tried to cut it out with the route from Siris to Pyxus. The commercial rivalry of these two cities became so acute that it ended in an armed conflict in which Siris succumbed about 530.

The economic prosperity of the cities was shown in the growth of the population.¹ Taras, Croton, Syracuse, and Acragas had between 50,000 and 80,000 inhabitants. Sybaris, which was said to rule over twenty-five cities and four native peoples, was credited with the fabulous figure of 300,000 inhabitants. The populations of the cities were formed of very diverse elements. Syracuse had, by the side of its great landlords, a population of sailors, merchants, and craftsmen, which made it look like Corinth or Miletos. Though Doric in speech, it had none of the characteristics of a Dorian city. The important part played by tyrants at Syracuse, as in the mother city Corinth, shows how different these cosmopolitan towns were in spirit from the pure Dorians.

Moreover, as compared with the rest of Greece, these peoples of Sicily and Italy had a character of their own. Settled in new countries, the emigrants had less respect than the inhabitants of ancient cities for the traditions and customs bequeathed by their ancestors. Being obliged to adapt themselves to new surroundings and new conditions, they displayed more initiative, and a larger freedom of movement. Their spirit was more practical, more utilitarian. They were ignorant of the refinements and delicacies of old civilizations. They were less sensitive to harmony and proportion, and committed a parvenu's errors of taste. Like the Ionians, they loved luxury and entertainments;

¹ Thuc., vi. 17.

antiquity invented the most unlikely anecdotes to illustrate the extravagance and effeminacy of the Sybarites. They displayed this opulence with a naïve self-satisfaction which did not exclude a certain sense of advertisement. A care for practical interests, a love of enormous size and sumptuous decoration, and a desire to astonish the spectator—these were the characteristics of Italian and Sicilian Greece.

Architecture reproduces this character to perfection. Most of the Greek monuments still standing are found in Italy and Sicily. The temples of Poseidonia, Acragas, and Segesta and the ruins of Syracuse and Selinus form an imposing body of archaic architecture.¹ All these temples are Doric, but of a particular style of Doric. The dominant feature is a tendency to great size. The archaic temples of Greece Proper are of modest dimensions. The Heræon at Olympia is about 164 by 62 feet, and the temple of Apollo at Corinth is about 174 by 69 ft. Some of the Greek temples of Italy and Sicily cover four times the area. The great temple at Selinus is 348 by 154 ft., and that of Zeus at Acragas is 344 by 157 ft. The same desire to do things on a big scale led the architects of Sicily to enlarge the portico as much as possible, so as to turn it into a spacious promenade, where a whole crowd could take shelter and walk about in comfort. The temple of Olympian Zeus at Acragas, with its supporting columns engaged in the wall, its three aisles separated by mighty pillars and a stone partition, and its colossal statues of Atlantes bearing the weight of the pediment, is a fit consummation of the Sicilian artists' dreams—an immoderate, unexpected work, utterly foreign to the spirit of proportion and the sobriety of Greek architecture, the biggest and most astonishing edifice in the Hellenic world.

Sicilian architecture was of the Doric order, which was dear to the Greeks of Greece Proper. But Ionia exerted its influence on the Greece of the west as on other Greek countries. Ionian sailors visited the ports of the western Mediterranean; the commercial dealings of Miletos and Sybaris maintained sentiments of friendship between the two cities,² and most of our specimens of Ionian pottery come from the cemeteries of Etruria. So, just as in Greece Proper, art and literature developed under the influence of Ionia.

¹ CXXXI.

² Hdt., vi. 21; Ath., xii. 519B.

Sculpture was represented by an Ionian, Pythagoras of Samos, established at Rhegion, about whose work there is nothing especially occidental. Literature, too, was markedly Ionian; Antiochos of Syracuse wrote his chronicle, about 420, in Ionic. No doubt the origin of comedy may be ascribed to Sicily. Certainly the Sicilians had a reputation for never missing a good saying or the chance of raising a laugh, even in serious circumstances,¹ and, being so enthusiastic about dancing that people said "Play the Sicilian," *σικελίζειν*, for "Dance,"² they were able to develop it into perfect ballets, in which a dramatic story was represented by steps and gestures.³ But it was a Greek from Asia, Epicharmos of Cos, a refugee at Syracuse, who extracted a literary form from the Sicilian dancing and buffoonery and truly created comedy.

Science and philosophy also were imported from Ionia. Xenophanes came from Colophon to Zancle and Catane, where he taught before establishing himself at Elea, and Pythagoras came from Samos to Croton. But philosophy became Dorian; it created a scientific prose in the Doric dialect which was the only *κοινή* to vie with Ionian prose.⁴ It too, like architecture, was adapted to the needs and tastes of the Greeks of the west. Even more than in Ionia, philosophical speculation had a utilitarian purpose. The philosophers cultivated the applied sciences. The Pythagoreans devoted themselves to mathematics, while the sophists studied grammar and rhetoric. They mixed themselves up in public affairs and constructed political systems. Nor were they always free of the failings of their fellow-citizens; they adopted a language and an attitude which should compel the attention of the public, and their ostentation was sometimes no more than a form of advertisement.

The most illustrious of the thinkers of Great Greece is Pythagoras. Born at Samos about the middle of the VIth century, he came to Great Greece on a summons to act as arbiter between the parties at Croton. He was the creator of mathematical science, "going back," as Proclus says, "to superior principles and enquiring into problems abstractly and by pure intelligence."⁵ He was the first to speculate on

¹ Cic., *Verr.*, ii. 43.

⁴ **XLV**, p. 340.

² Ath., i. 22c.

⁵ In **CXXIII**, p. 290.

³ Xen., *Symp.*, 2, 9.

the general properties of numbers and geometrical figures ; he reduced the study of the movement of the stars to geometrical problems, and, if we may believe tradition, he made the first mathematical observations on sounds.¹ From all these enquiries he concluded that numbers are the very essence of the world. But, besides being a scientist, he was a reformer, who wished to renovate government and society. He created a veritable monastic order ; his disciples, who were only admitted after a religious initiation, lived together in retreat, and were subject to a severe discipline. The strange and mysterious elements in the beliefs and practices of the Pythagorean sect made such an impression on the popular imagination that Pythagoras, in the pursuit of his plans of reform, attempted to impose his ascetic ideal on the entire city. Softness and luxury were forbidden, goods had to be shared in common, and the same frugal way of life was enjoined upon all citizens, to ensure purity of body and soul. The political and social plan of Pythagoras at first had a favourable reception from the Crotoniates, and the victories of Croton over Sybaris were regarded as the happy result of his reforms. But very soon the Crotoniates grew tired of their austere life and the harsh authority of the master. When the sect was celebrating its twentieth anniversary, the crowd rushed upon the Pythagorean monastery, burned the building, scattered the disciples, and obliged Pythagoras to flee.

The special features of the philosophy of Western Greece were carried to the pitch of exaggeration, and one might say of caricature, by Empedocles. Likewise a scientist, but still more a wonder-worker and prophet, he paraded his magnificent costumes and "tragedian's airs" amid gaping crowds.² He proclaimed himself ready to perform any miracle, and gave himself out for a fallen god, condemned to wander about the world for thirty thousand years, in the course of a thousand incarnations. For later generations, who knew nothing certain about his death, he remained the conceited man whose love of advertisement and imposture had driven him to the most theatrical suicide ever imagined.

¹ CXXIII, pp. 195, 199 ; CXXIV, p. 369.

² Diog. Laert., viii. 70.

3. THE FAR WEST

Beyond Italy and Sicily, the Greek settlements were, as on the Euxine, dotted here and there about a barbarian world. The western basin of the Mediterranean was explored late. Even if Ægean influence reached Spain, the way to the Far West was forgotten by the Achæans, and it was only at a later date that men thought of placing certain adventures of Heracles and Odysseus in Mauretania or Andalusia. Only after they were established on the passage where the two basins of the Mediterranean meet, between Italy and Africa, were the Greeks able to undertake the exploration of the more distant countries. This was done by the boldest sailors and adventurers of the Greek world, the Ionians.

Discoveries were due to the chances of navigation as much as to methodical exploring. Thus, at the beginning of the VIth century, a storm having driven his ship through the Straits of Gibraltar, the Samian Colæos came to the country of Tartessos. Being well received by the natives, he loaded his ship with products of that wealthy country, and on his return made such a profit as no Greek ship-owner had known before. Out of the sixty talents which he made, he took a tenth to offer to Hera a thank-offering of a magnificent bronze tripod.¹ Such strokes of fortune could only encourage the Greek mariners. The western seas were scoured by ships bound on trade or piracy, as occasion demanded. After the defeat of Lade, Dionysios of Phocæa, having captured three enemy ships, went cruising off the coasts of Phœnicia, where he sank merchantmen, and then, with his booty, set sail for Sicily, and engaged in piracy in the Tyrrhenian Sea, sparing Greeks but plundering Carthaginians and Etruscans without scruple.² Many other Ionians before him had lived the same life of adventure in the same waters.

Phocæa founded the first settlements. At the beginning of the VIth century, Phocæan traders landed among the Ligurians, who received them in a friendly manner. The country could not but please them. The clear sky and mild climate, the deep, sheltered bays, the promontories rising from the sea in tawny, sun-burnt rocks or the foliage of ever-green trees, everything brought back the memory of Greek

¹ Hdt., iv. 152.² *Ibid.*, vi. 17.

landscapes. They had only to introduce the vine and olive on the little plains and the stony hill-sides, to believe themselves at home. And there on the shore was a site after the heart of the colonist—a cove, islets close to the land, and a rocky peninsula for the acropolis. Here was born Massalia, Marseilles, which was to be the great Hellenic centre of the Far West. Massalia covered the whole coast with “factories”—in the east, Nicæa, Antipolis, and Olbia; in the west, Agathe, Rhode, Emporion, and, the furthest colony of all, Mænace. Coasting along Spain, the Phocæans in their turn came to the Tartessos country; the king, Arganthonios, formed friendly relations with the Greeks, and even gave the Phocæans the money needed to build walls round their city.¹

Beyond Spain, the Atlantic seemed even more mysterious and strange to the Mediterranean world than the Euxine had been in the eyes of the first Milesians who went through the Bosphorus. It was boundless space, without islands, without end, the River Oceanos which marks the confines of the earth. At the very most one might think of going up the coast. There, too, the mariners of Massalia showed more daring than all others. Euthymenes followed the coast of Africa as far as Senegal; Pytheas, the greatest of the Greek explorers, visited lands lost in the mist and cold of the northern seas.

The colonies of the Far West resembled those of the Euxine. Like them, they did not extend inland, and did not even form a continuous fringe along the coast, but remained isolated points in the midst of barbarous peoples. Like them, they lay rather outside the movement of Greek civilization. No doubt Massalia was an active centre of Hellenism. She was among the cities which caused an official edition of the Homeric poems to be established,² and in Roman times her schools were celebrated and her physicians made hydro-pathic treatments fashionable. But Massalia and the settlements which she founded were mainly colonies of exploitation, markets where exchanges between Hellenes and natives were carried on. By the valley of the Rhone, Massalia received the products of Gaul and Britain and diffused Greek civilization in Celtic lands. The Spanish colonies exploited the local wealth, the wool of the sheep which grazed on the inland

¹ Hdt., i. 163.

² XLIV, i, p. 419.

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plateaus and the silver which the mines of Bætica yielded in plenty. Greek influence made itself felt very far, but here there was no Ionia, no Great Greece.

4. GREEKS, ETRUSCANS, AND CARTHAGINIANS

In the western Mediterranean the Greeks met rivals. Two other peoples of sailors and merchants disputed with them the empire of the sea, the Etruscans and the Carthaginians.

Arriving in central Italy in the IXth century, the Etruscans extended their sway over the whole peninsula, from the Alps to the Bay of Naples. At the beginning of the VIth century they founded Capua and Nola in Campania, and thus found themselves the neighbours of Greek cities, and of Cumæ in particular. The Etruscans were not only excellent husbandmen and skilful metal-workers; they were also merchants and navigators. Their ships frequented the Greek ports just as Greek vessels knew the Etruscan ports. Sicily in particular contained the ports of call where the two fleets naturally came together. So there was incessant exchange; while the vases of Ionia, Corinth, and Attica, with their contents, easily found buyers in Etruria, Etruscan metal articles enjoyed a great reputation in Greece. The Greeks might well be afraid of the competition of the Etruscan merchants, and they knew how formidable the Tyrrhenian pirates were. In any case, the Etruscans were their rivals, and ready to become their enemies.

Still more dangerous were the Phœnicians, whom the Greeks found everywhere on their way. The expansion of the Phœnicians in the western Mediterranean was almost contemporary with that of the Greeks. The oldest Phœnician settlements were those on the coast of Libya, Utica and Carthage, the "new city," founded soon after Utica at the end of the VIIIth century. About the same time the Phœnicians arrived in Bætica, and in the last third of the VIIIth century Isaiah already knew of the trade of Phœnicia and the country of Tartessos (Tarshish).¹ But Phœnician colonists were few there, even after the foundation of Cadiz; when Colæos arrived in Bætica there were still hardly any foreigners in the country. In Sicily, the Phœnicians only

¹ Isa., lx. 9; lxvi. 19.

followed the Greeks ; when Selinus and Himera were founded the Phœnician power was still at its beginning, and the Phœnicians, finding the Greeks already installed, had to settle in the north-western corner of the island. Still less trace is there of the Phœnicians in the Tyrrhenian Sea ; there is no indication of their presence on the coasts of Gaul and Italy. The Etruscans took their alphabet from the Greeks, not from the Phœnicians, and the Romans, who gave the Carthaginians the name *Pœni* used by the Greeks, took many nautical terms from the latter, but not one from the Phœnicians.

The Greeks had little to fear from Phœnician expansion, so long as the Phœnician settlements remained independent and isolated. The danger appeared when the Carthaginian empire was founded. First, Carthage and Utica combined to impose their dominion on the other Phœnician cities of Libya and on the neighbouring islands of Pantellaria, Malta, and Gozzo. Then Carthage gained the upper hand, and even reduced Utica to the condition of a subject city. She gradually collected under her sway all the old Phœnician colonies in Sicily and Bætica, established herself in the Balearic Islands, and colonized Sardinia. Then she found herself in contact with the Greeks everywhere. After commercial rivalry, armed conflict was inevitable.

Very naturally, the Etruscans and Carthaginians made common cause against the enemy of both, the Greeks. Alliance was concluded in the face of the Greek menace. After the Persian conquest the Phocæans left their city, and came to Corsica, where they had already founded Alalia. Joining up with their Massaliot settlements, they felt strong enough to try to exclude the Etruscans and the Phœnicians of Sardinia from the Tyrrhenian Sea. A coalition was formed against them. After an indecisive naval battle,¹ the Phocæans, who said that they had won, but had lost two-thirds of their ships, left Corsica and took refuge in Great Greece, where they founded Elea. Corsica, abandoned by the Greeks, was occupied by the Etruscans. Massalia was isolated, and had to carry on the struggle single-handed. She disputed the Spanish possessions with Carthage, but, after alternations of success and failure, she was obliged to

¹ Hdt., i. 167.

give up Bætica, and concluded an agreement with Carthage, by which the zones of influence of the two cities were defined and Cape Artemision was fixed as the point which they must not pass.

The struggle commenced also in Sicily and Italy. In Sicily, the Rhodians and Cnidians, who, in co-operation with Selinus, had tried to establish themselves at Lilybæon, were driven out by the Phœnicians, and the remnants of the expedition sought refuge in the Lipari Islands. Dorieus, who had already come up against the opposition of Carthage on the Cinyps, was no more successful when he tried to occupy Mount Eryx. This was the last attempt at Greek colonization in the west.¹ In Great Greece, the conflicts of the cities gave the enemies of Hellenism their opportunity. Sybaris ruined Siris, Croton destroyed Sybaris, Locri defeated Croton. The native Italian peoples profited by the weakening of the Greek cities to take the offensive, and in 473 the Iapygians inflicted a bloody defeat on the Tarentines. In Campania, the Etruscans attacked Cumæ; Aristodemos, the tyrant of Cumæ, managed to save the city, but when he was gone the Etruscans again had the advantage. Hellenism was threatened on every hand.

Western Greece was saved by Syracuse. Reviving the schemes of Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas, the tyrants of Gela sought to effect the union of Greek Sicily in their own interest. Hippocrates had, at the beginning of the Vth century, brought most of the cities under his dominion. His successor, Gelon, continued his work, making himself master of Syracuse in 485 and completing the occupation of the cities on the eastern coast, while his father-in-law, Theron of Acragas, took Himera. The tyrant of Himera, driven out of his city, appealed to the Carthaginians, who sent a formidable expedition against Gelon. In spite of the numerical disproportion of the opposing forces, Gelon, thanks to his skilful dispositions and to the superiority of the Greek cavalry, won a victory at Himera in 480 which put a stop to any Carthaginian offensive for a long time.² After him, Hieron broke the Etruscan offensive with equal success. Off Cumæ, in 474, he inflicted on the Etruscan navy a decisive defeat which saved the Greeks of Campania.³ Under the

¹ CXXIX, pp. 1 ff. ² CXXIX, pp. 113 ff. ³ Diod., xi. 51. 1-2.

tyranny of Gelon and Hieron Syracuse enjoyed a new splendour. Poets and craftsmen flocked to the court of the tyrants, as they had once flocked about Polycrates and Peisistratos. Simonides of Ceos and his nephew Bacchylides, Epicharmos of Cos, Pindar of Thebes, and Æschylos of Athens went to Syracuse. The fame of the Deinomenids¹ filled the Greek world ; at Delphi and Olympia their chariots won crowns, and the sanctuaries were adorned with offerings commemorating their triumphs.² Gelon was so powerful and so glorious that there was nothing improbable in the report that he wanted the supreme command of all the Greek forces against Xerxes.³

So the Greece of the west, happier than Asiatic Greece, escaped the danger from outside. But we must not exaggerate this victory. As in the east, Hellenism receded. Great Greece was in its decay, and only Sicily, round Syracuse, remained prosperous and splendid. Even in Sicily the enemy, though checked, was not beaten. The Greeks were not and never would be able to clear the Carthaginians from the island, and, at the least sign of weakness from the Greek cities, the menace would rise up, formidable once more.

5. CONSEQUENCES OF GREEK COLONIZATION

Greek expansion all over the Mediterranean basin, or, as it is called, Greek colonization, is one of the great facts of the history of the world.

The Greek colonies were, for the lands in which they were established, centres of civilization. Whereas the Phœnicians concerned themselves with the natives only to exploit them, the Greeks worked to civilize them. Thus, it was from Massalia that the peoples of Gaul received the first elements of culture, the alphabet and the use of money ; Gallic coins were crude copies of Greek types. So, too, central Italy underwent Greek influence at a very early date. The legend of the Corinthian Demaratos settling at Tarquinii with a whole colony of Greek craftsmen, and of his son Tarquin emigrating to Rome and becoming king there, admirably symbolizes the relations of archaic Greece with Etruria and

¹ Gelon was the son of Deinomenes.

² **CXXIX**, pp. 173 ff. ; **CXXXII**, pp. 207 ff.

³ Hdt., vii. 157-66.

infant Rome.¹ The most ancient tombs of the Forum contain Greek vases.² The black vases of Etruria are the most faithful copies we have of the bronze plate of Ionia, now lost.³ The corn-merchants of Sicily and Great Greece, who settled on the Aventine, introduced the worship of Ceres, which was celebrated for ever after *more Græco*, and they no doubt contributed to the political organization of the *plebs*.⁴ Long before the Græco-Roman civilization of the Imperial period, which was common to the whole ancient world, there was, as early as the VIth century, another Mediterranean civilization, likewise derived from Greek civilization, and more especially from Ionian civilization.

But here we must look at things rather from the Greek point of view. For Greece, too, colonization had important consequences. It had begun by being a channel for carrying off the troublesome elements of the population. All who found life difficult in the city, landless men, men who were more or less outlaws, found acceptable conditions of existence abroad. Through the departure of those whom the political and social organization might embitter and drive to revolt, the city escaped revolutionary crises. Colonization contributed to the internal tranquillity of the city, and was an aid to the peaceful development of institutions.

It played a still greater part in the formation of the Greek nation and the Greek genius. If we look at the map of Greece Proper in the VIth century, we see Sparta, keeping to herself and, as it were, shut up in the Peloponnese, gradually stiffening into the conservatism of island peoples, and Athens, still permeated with archaism, only with great difficulty breaking out of her primitive institutions. All this gives the impression of a world with narrow ideas, a limited horizon, living only for itself, and content with an utterly rudimentary economic life. Then let us turn to Ionia or Sicily. Everything is different. At the sight of new countries and at the contact of peoples with a different civilization, the wider Greece has felt its initiative waking, has opened its spirit to fertile influences from outside, and has displayed almost feverish activity in every domain. Everything is germinating, flowering, and bearing fruit in colonial

¹ L, ii, p. 418.

³ L, ii, pp. 319-20.

² Thédenat, *Le Forum romain*, p. 8.

⁴ CXXXIII, pp. 140-62, 272-4.

Greece—trade on a large scale and movable wealth, art and letters, philosophic and scientific thought. The outer Greece is the teacher of metropolitan Greece.

Moreover, colonization brought together and mingled the peoples of all Greece. Achæans, Dorians, and Ionians joined hands for common tasks, and recognized each other as members of one same family. The Spartans considered themselves a superior race, and permitted no intrusion of foreign elements, thus making their city weaker and weaker; very different were the Ionians, in whom native peoples and Greeks of every origin blended in a single population. It was in the great cosmopolitan centres—Miletos, Naucratis, Syracuse—that the Greeks must have noted their community of race, language, and beliefs, and there, consequently, the idea of a Greek nation was born.

Colonial Greece had a brilliant life, but this splendour was short. Both in the east and in the west Hellenism was driven back. But colonial Greece had at least had time to scatter the seeds of civilization everywhere. One consequence was that Greece Proper, archaic, narrow-minded little Greece, woke up, and was ready to take on the heritage of the greater Greece. In the Vth century Greece Proper in its turn lit a new torch at that which was flickering out, to continue the journey forward.

PART FOUR

HELLENIC UNITY

CHAPTER I

MORAL UNITY

1. GREEK AND BARBARIAN

SCATTERED all round the Mediterranean basin, the Greeks recognized themselves everywhere as forming part of the same group, the same family. This feeling was strengthened by the very fact of their dispersion. If the Greeks had remained simple farmers, and had only formed rural communities, shut off from one another and sufficient to themselves, each group, having no contact with its neighbours, would have evolved separately, would have had its own language, institutions, and manners, and would have ended by forming a nation clearly different from the neighbouring nations. As it was, their dispersion in the midst of a world of foreigners, and the very weakness of each group, which could not live alone and had to maintain continuous commercial relations with the others, preserved the ties which originally united the Greeks. The mariner or merchant of Miletos or Phocæa was never more aware of his Hellenic nationality than when he felt himself lost among Scythians or Ligurians. The Greeks may not have been able to make extensive states, or to effect their political unity; at least they always preserved the notion of their common origin and the feeling of Hellenic unity.

For a Greek, mankind was clearly divided into two portions—the Greek world and the barbarian world.¹ These are the two women whom, in Atossa's dream, Xerxes wishes to harness to his chariot.² The phrase commonly used by the

¹ Strabo, i. 4. 9.

² Æsch., *Pers.*, 181–7.

historians is ἡ "Ἕλληνες, ἡ βάρβαροι.¹ The word βάρβαρος at first meant no more than "non-Greek." The barbarians were taken to include the Persians and Egyptians, peoples with an old and brilliant civilization, no less than the Thracians² or Sicels,³ wild, primitive tribes. But very soon the Greeks considered themselves superior to other peoples, and in their national pride came more and more to give the word "barbarian" the pejorative sense which it has now.

In contrast to the barbarians, the Greeks formed the Hellenic body, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. No one has defined it better than Herodotos, when he makes the Athenians explain the reasons which prevented them from betraying the common cause. "Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὼν ὁμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα."⁴ Community of race, community of language, community of religion, community of manners—that was what, in the eyes of the ancients, guaranteed Hellenic unity. We have already seen how far we can accept this in respect of race, and what reservations we must make on this subject; it will be easier for us to follow ancient opinion on the other points.

2. COMMUNITY OF LANGUAGE

Linguistic differences were those which struck the Greeks most. Originally, the "barbarian" was the man who did not speak Greek. There are many passages in which this is quite clearly the sense of the word.⁵ The Homeric poems, which, as Thucydides has already observed,⁶ are unacquainted with the words "barbarian" and "Hellene" alike, speak of the Carians as βαρβαρόφωνοι.⁷ Etymologically, the barbarians seem to be men who babble or stammer, in accordance with the usual impression produced by any foreign language on those who do not know it. Strabo says that the word is formed onomatopœically, to designate those whose language is harsh, raucous, and difficult to pronounce.⁸ Neighing horses,⁹ birds singing,¹⁰ even bubbling water,¹¹ talk

¹ Thuc., i. 82. 1; vi. 1. 1; 18. 2; 33. 5; etc.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 97. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 2. 6.

⁴ Hdt., viii. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 57, 158; Thuc., ii. 68. 5.

⁶ Thuc., i. 3.

⁷ *Il.*, ii. 867.

⁸ Strabo, xiv. 2. 28.

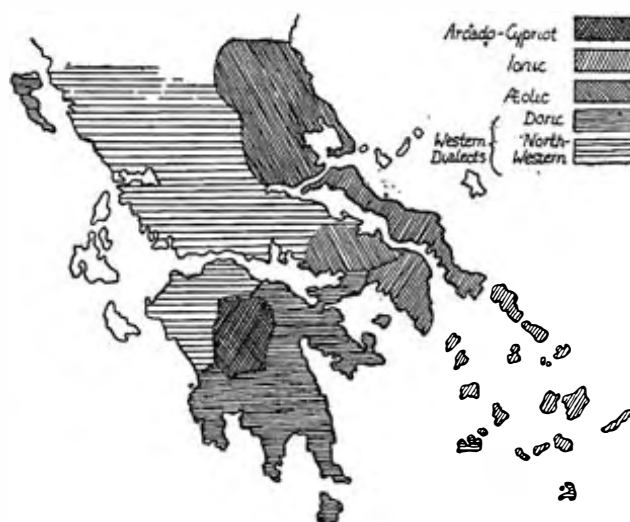
⁹ Aesch., *Seven*, 463.

¹⁰ Ar., *Birds*, 199; Soph., *Ant.*, 1002.

¹¹ Eubulos, ap. Ath., vi. 229A.

"barbarian." When Herodotos wants to give a rational explanation of the story, told at Dodone, of a dove which started to talk like men, he says that it was a barbarian woman, who was called a dove because her foreign speech seemed to be that of the birds, and that she was considered to speak in a human manner when she learned to make herself understood by Greeks in Greek.¹

The Greek, then, was distinguished from the barbarian in that he could talk Greek. No doubt dialectal differences were numerous. Aristotle counted over two hundred



MAP OF DIALECTS

dialects, and modern philologists find, in the earliest period, "almost as many forms of Greek as texts."² The four great dialect groups³ contain each a great number of local dialects differentiated by some detail. The Doric dialects are so different one from another that linguistic evidence by itself is not sufficient to establish their unity.⁴ In an island like Crete, there are no two towns which use exactly the same language in their inscriptions.⁵

In addition to diversity of language there was diversity of writing. Whatever the origin of the Greek alphabet may

¹ Hdt., ii. 54-7.

² XLV, p. 66.

³ See above, pp. 59-63.

⁴ XLV, p. 104.

⁵ XLV, p. 101.

have been, it presents, like the dialects, a common fund and local differences. The Greek alphabets are classified, according to the signs used for the sounds ξ , ψ , and χ , in two big groups, the Eastern and the Western. We must also add certain alphabets, like those of Melos and Thera, which do not possess the signs known as "non-Phœnician," and we must set on one side alphabets like that of Corinth, which, though it belongs to the Eastern group, uses very special signs. But what is remarkable, is that alphabetical differences do not correspond to dialectal differences. The



MAP OF ALPHABETS

Western alphabets are used for writing Arcadian, and Ionic dialects in Eubœa, and Æolic dialects in Bœotia, and Doric dialects in Laconia. For writing is independent of language. The diffusion of the alphabets is explained by the historical relations of the cities. Colonies naturally have the same alphabet and the same dialect as the mother city. Naxos in Sicily, Catane, Himera, and Cumæ use the same letters as Chalcis,¹ and it is through the Chalcidian alphabet, transmitted to the colonies of Great Greece, that the alphabets of Italy, Etruscan and Latin, are connected with the Greek alphabet.² But the alphabet was above all, like coinage or

¹ CXXXVII, p. 107.

² CXXXVII, p. 117.

weights and measures, an instrument of exchange, which the commercial cities had an interest in unifying. A country had to live quite apart, and, as it were, outside the Greek world, to preserve a fundamentally peculiar writing, like the Cypriot syllabary, down to classical times.¹

In spite of all these differences, the Greek dialects had enough common features to be recognizable as members of the same family. The similarities were due, first, to the fact that all were derived from a single language, the common Greek, which we reconstruct by conjecture, like all the common Indo-European languages.² They were even more due to the influence which the dialects did not cease to exert on one another. The great dialectal families had no definite frontiers; each dialect had borrowed something from the neighbouring dialects, without the limits of one variant ever coinciding with those of another.³ The more frequent and intimate relations between peoples became, the more their dialects were mingled. In a district with geographical frontiers, where the inhabitants all led the same life, linguistic unification was possible. This was the case in Bœotia, which had an official dialect, common to all the cities. Unity was achieved still faster and more completely in centres of trade, where it was easier to do business if all merchants used the same idiom. A common language was created, which had no longer any local ties, but was a true language of civilization. As this civilization, in virtue of its superiority, extended further and further, the language which represented it also gained ground. Thus, in the VIth century the common Ionic tended to become the language of the whole Greek world, as Attic became in the Vth and IVth centuries.

Another form of linguistic unity was obtained by the creation of literary languages. In classical times each poetical style was provided with its own special language, which the poet had to use, whatever his mother tongue might be. Pindar of Thebes, who talked Æolic, none the less wrote his triumphal odes in Doric, and the legend was wrong in making Tyrtæos an Athenian for the sole reason that the songs which he composed at Sparta were in the Ionic proper to elegiacs. Each literary language, obscure

¹ XLV, p. 88. ² Vendryes, *Language* (in this series), Part 4, ch. v.

³ XLV, pp. 7, 74.

though its beginnings may be for us, seems to have risen from the dialect in which the style was developed, but it enriched the local speech with archaic or foreign elements. It was, therefore, an artificial language, forged by the poets and handed on, complete with all its rules, from one to another. Thus, the language used in the choral lyric, though its characteristic features are taken from the Doric dialects, is not really the speech of any one city or district.

The most artificial of the literary languages was that of the epic.¹ It had already taken dialectal forms from two quite distinct types, the Æolic, which supplied its first foundation, and the Ionic, which gave it its dominant colour. But, in addition, resemblances between the Homeric vocabulary and the Arcado-Cypriot vocabulary permit us to believe that a still more archaic dialect, the old common Achæan, supplied words to the earliest epic poets, either directly or indirectly. The Homeric language, once established in its conventional form, was preserved by the corporation of the bards, who had a kind of monopoly of recitation, before it was fixed by writing. It was the most widespread and best-known language in the Greek world. All Greek poetry was derived from Homer, and the two epics were the basis of all education. The young Spartans and the young Athenians were alike brought up on them. The Peisistratids, who introduced recitations of the epics into the Panathenæa, had an official edition established. The furthest colonies, cities lost among barbarians, showed the same concern for the text; in addition to the Athenian edition, the grammarians of Alexandria knew those of Massalia and Sinope.² Nothing, perhaps, contributed to Hellenic unity so much as the Homeric poems.

By common languages and literary languages, the Greeks grew accustomed to understanding one another. In the Vth century, two Greeks who did not speak the same dialect might be rather surprised at each other's pronunciation, and puzzled by certain local words, but on the whole they could make one another out. The Athenians had no difficulty when, in a tragedy, the pure Attic of the dialogue was followed by the Dorized language of the chorus. Aristophanes' audience knew the dialects of Greece well enough to

¹ **XLV**, pp. 176, 186, 193, 194.

² **XLV**, i, p. 419.

recognize foreign characters by their speech, and to enjoy the Laconian accent and expressions of Lampito. It was exceptional for a dialect to remain so archaic or to develop so much that it was no longer recognized as Greek. Pamphylian, it seems, was the only Hellenic tongue which was taken by the Greeks for a barbarian language.¹ The similarities between the dialects were striking enough for the Greeks always to feel that they were speaking the same language, whereas they never suspected the kinship existing between Greek and the Indo-European tongues of their nearest neighbours, Thracians, Illyrians, or Italians.

3. COMMUNITY OF RELIGION

As the Greeks spoke the same language, so they practised the same religion. The origins of the Greek cults and myths are enshrouded in mystery. In the religion of classical times we find some traces of a primitive religious age, in the form of magical rites preserved in worship and survivals of fetishism and zoölatry presented by the divine types. It is even harder to make out what remained from pre-Hellenic religions and what was contributed by the Hellenes. For, however far back we go in historical times, we never find any religious conception in Greece but anthropomorphism. A deity like the mare-headed Demeter worshipped at Phigalia² appeared to the Greeks of classical times a monstrous, inexplicable figure. For all Greeks, the gods were men, bigger, stronger, more beautiful, eternally young; they had the thoughts, feelings, passions, and even vices of men. The divine world was a copy of humanity, enlarged but not purified.

At the beginning each city had its gods. Much stress has been laid, by Fustel de Coulanges and others, on the national character of Greek religion. The citizen, it is said, was recognized by his compulsory participation in the city worship, which was exclusive and closed to foreigners; religion and patriotism were the same thing. This theory may be true for more archaic times; it becomes less and less correct as one goes forward in classical times. No doubt the city considered itself under the special protection of one

¹ XLV, p. 90.

² Paus., vii. 42. 3-4.

deity, to whom it paid special worship, the "Poliad" deity. The image of the Poliad deity symbolized the city on coins, on public seals, and on the headings of decrees and treaties.¹ The feasts of the Poliad deity were national festivals, in which the stranger had no place.

But what exactly was the Poliad deity? Some, no doubt, were purely local, like Damia and Auxesia who were worshipped at Epidauros and can hardly have been known outside except by the very nearest peoples.² But this is an exceptional case. As a rule the character of the Poliad deity was due to the fact that the city, as it were, fashioned its god in its own image. Such, for example, was Athene at Athens. She was the warrior goddess who defended the city against the enemy and stood, fully armed, on the citadel. But she was also Athene Ergane, the peaceful goddess, the good workwoman, as was fitting in an industrial city where manual labour was especially honoured. She protected the crops of Attica, and, in particular, the most precious of all, the olive. She presided over political life, inspiring the *Boule* and the Assembly. She filled this rôle of counsellor because she was also the goddess of reflection and intelligence; in a city which owed its glory to its artists, writers, and thinkers even more than to its traders and craftsmen, the Poliad goddess had to be all thought, all reason, all wisdom. But, if Athene had become the ideal personification of the city of Athens, she was none the less taken from the common fund of Greek deities. At the beginning the Athenes of the different cities were perhaps quite distinct goddesses;³ in classical times there was only one Athene, who received equal honour in a great many cities.

So there was a whole group of gods who had lost the character of local deities and had become pan-Hellenic. When local deities had similar characters, attributes, or epithets, it was natural that they should be merged in a common type. This new god, the god whom all knew, supplanted the old gods, who were too closely bound to a certain place. The substitution of one god for another appears in the legends as a fight between the two opponents. The old local god, reduced to the level of a hero, a mortal, or a monster, is

¹ E.g. **XLIX**, ii, figs. 56, 71.

² Hdt., v. 83; Paus., ii. 30. 4; 32. 2.

³ **XXXIX**, p. 171.

defeated and slain by the young god, who, in memory of his victory, takes a surname or adopts an attribute from his predecessor. So, for example, Apollo is a multiple god, in whom even Cicero thought he recognized four different persons.¹ At the beginning it was possible to distinguish Delphinian Apollo, a pre-Hellenic god, the patron of mariners and emigrants, Delian Apollo, worshipped by the islanders with his mother Leto and his sister Artemis, Carneian Apollo, a Peloponnesian god of the earth, vegetation, and the dead, and Apollo Smintheus, who was worshipped in the north-west of Asia Minor in the same twofold character of the chthonian divinities, as a rustic god who protected the harvest and as a god of death who sent forth and stayed pestilence. Apollo not only combined the aspects of the different Apollos in a single personality; he also took up the inheritance of older local gods. At Delphi he became Pythian Apollo, after piercing with his arrows the serpent Python, an earth genius. At Amyclæ he took the place of Hyacinthos, whom he was said to have slain accidentally when throwing the disk. His oracle supplanted that of Earth at Delphi, and that of a genius of Mount Ptoon in Bœotia. As a result of the importance assumed by two of the centres of Apollo-worship, Delos and Delphi, the Delian and Delphic legends finally drove out the others, and had to be combined as skilfully as possible in a single story. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo, in which the copyists have put two poems together, is a kind of material evidence of this work of combination. As Apollo gradually acquired a single personality, he became a universal god. So pan-Hellenic was he, that modern scholars who have wished to attach him to one Greek group or another have arrived, with equal verisimilitude, at diametrically opposite conclusions. K. O. Müller sees in him the god of the Dorians, and explains the diffusion of his worship by the Dorian invasion; E. Curtius makes him the god of the Ionians, and shows him conquering the Greek world as a consequence of Ionian colonization.

The pan-Hellenic cults were spread by emigrants and travellers. The colonists took with them the gods of their mother city and such of the great gods as seemed the most favourable. Sailors of Cnossos had brought Apollo to

¹ Cic., *Nat. Deor.*, iii. 23.

Delphi, and it was emigrants again who dedicated to him the many Apollonias of colonial Greece. But the gods drew the faithful to their feet from all the corners of the Greek world, in proportion to their capacity for doing service to man. This explains the popularity of those who revealed the future or cured illnesses.

There were many oracles. When Cræsus wished to discover the most truthful of the Greek oracles, he sent envoys to consult, in addition to the oracle of the Branchidæ in Asia and that of Ammon in Libya, the prophets of Greece Proper—Apollo at Delphi and at Abæ in Phocis, Zeus at Dodone, Amphiaraos in his sanctuary near Oropos, and Trophonios in his cave hard by Lebadeia.¹ His investigations were incomplete; for example, he might just as well have questioned Ptoan Apollo, who had a great reputation in the VIth century,² and could answer barbarians in their own language.³ But certain oracles were particularly renowned for their wisdom. Only two, Amphiaraos and Pythian Apollo, were able to divine the extraordinary form of cookery invented by Cræsus to test them.⁴ It was these who, if one may say so, drew all the custom. Delphi, in particular, eclipsed almost all competitors. Out of about fifty prophecies recorded by Pausanias, thirty-seven come from the Pythia, and, even if many of them are apocryphal, their number at least proves how well established was the reputation of the Oracle. Those who sought counsel were so many that it was an advantage as well as an honour to receive from the Delphians priority, or *προμαντεία*. The god was consulted on the advisability of a marriage, a loan, or a voyage; he was questioned about harvests, treasures, and inheritances.⁵ Xenophon approached the Pythia before starting for Asia;⁶ Isyllos asked her whether he should engrave on stone the pæan which he had composed in honour of Apollo and Asclepios.⁷ No less than individuals, cities hastened eagerly to the prophetic tripod; peace and war, constitutional changes, and the foundation of colonies were never undertaken without consultation of the god. In their gratitude the cities dedicated votive monuments in the

¹ Hdt., i. 46.

² *XL*, xlv (1920), pp. 227 ff

³ Hdt., viii. 135; Paus., ix. 23. 6.

⁴ Hdt., i. 47-9.

⁵ Eur., *Ion*, 303; Plut., *Mor.*, 386c, 408c, 413b.

⁶ Xen., *Anab.*, iii. 1. 6.

⁷ *II*, iv. 950.

sacred precinct, and when we draw up a list of them we review the whole Greek world. From Dion in Macedonia¹ to Cyrene,² from Heracleia on the Euxine³ to Massalia,⁴ the Peloponnese and the rest of Greece Proper, the islanders of the Ægean and Ionian Seas, the cities of Asia and of Great Greece collaborated in the adornment of the *hieron*. On two occasions, in the VIth and IVth centuries, when the temple had to be rebuilt, the necessary funds were collected by a pan-Hellenic subscription.

Even more than to know the future, man wants to be healed of his bodily ailments. So healing gods and heroes were as numerous as oracles. But here, too, some had acquired a celebrity which brought them patients from all over the Greek world. The most renowned of the medical gods was Asclepios. His oldest sanctuary was that of Tricce in Thessaly, which is already mentioned in the *Iliad*,⁵ and was still frequented by invalids in classical times. From Thessaly, with the migrations, the cult of Asclepios came into central Greece, and then into the Peloponnese. Although it was comparatively late, the Asclepieion at Epidauros held the front rank in the classical period. The invalids who flocked thither did not undergo a course of medical treatment suitable to their illness, but, after spending one or more nights in the dormitories of the sanctuary, they awaited a miracle from the god. When they went away cured, they did not fail to dedicate an offering to record their malady and their miraculous cure. The steles on which the priests of Epidauros had a summary of the cures made up from the dedications⁶ fairly often give the nationality of the patient. They came from almost everywhere, chiefly from the Peloponnese, but also from Athens, the islands, Thessaly, Chalcidice, Epeiros. The most distant cities mentioned in the Epidauros inscriptions are Lampsacos⁷ and Metapontion.⁸ Like Delphi, Epidauros was known and visited by the entire Greek world. To appreciate the universal nature of the relations of the sanctuary, it is sufficient to run through the lists of the *theorodokoi*⁹ whose duty it was to receive in foreign cities the sacred ambassadors of Asclepios.

¹ Paus., x. 13. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 8. 6; 18. 7.

⁷ *II*, iv. 951, 1. 107.

² *Ibid.*, x. 13. 5; 15. 6.

⁵ *II*, iv. 202.

⁸ *II*, iv. 1215.

³ *Ibid.*, x. 15. 1.

⁶ *II*, iv. 951, 952, 953.

⁹ *II*, iv. 925, 1504.

In the diffusion of the types of the different deities we must ascribe a large share to the writers and artists. In Greek religion there was no body of dogma, taught by a clergy and imposed on the faithful. Between one country and another the stories of the birth and adventures of the gods varied, and the expositors had great difficulty in finding their way among them.¹ But, while certain legends remained purely local, others spread, and in the end were known and accepted by all. This working up of the legends and fixing of them in their final form was in great part done by the poets. A poem, whose literary value caused it to be widely known, at the same time compelled all who heard it to accept the myth adopted by the poet. It was the Homeric poems which, being known by all, established for all the appearance, character, and attributes of the great gods. So, too, the artist forced acceptance of the plastic type which he created. Pheidias drew the inspiration for his Zeus from Homer;² but the statue at Olympia expressed the new, pan-Hellenic conception of Zeus, no longer the fickle spouse of Hera, whose mishaps and domestic quarrels diverted the Olympians, but the master of gods and men, the ruler of the physical and moral worlds, supreme wisdom and supreme goodness.

Community of religion was for a long time the strongest bond which could unite men. In Greece no human association, natural or artificial, from the family to the league of cities, could be imagined without a common worship. Therefore, since all Greeks had the same gods, they were all members of the same association. When Aristophanes would preach concord to the Greek peoples, he reminds them that they "besprinkle their altars with the same lustral water, like kinsmen."³

By his religion as by his language, the Greek was distinguished from the barbarian. He allowed that the latter had a right to his own gods. The Greek of Naucratis regarded the deities of Egypt with curiosity, being rather surprised at the worship of animals, but identifying the gods of human shape with his own Greek deities. Like the Romans, the Greeks were inclined to assimilate their own and foreign gods, and to call them by the same name. But the foreign god who resisted this assimilation could not find a place in

¹ Paus., ix. 16. 7.

² Strabo, viii. 3. 30.

³ Ar., *Lys.*, 1130.

the Greek pantheon. Athenian law punished those who introduced new cults without authorization from the State.¹ The first priest of the Great Mother, who wished to initiate the women of Athens into the mysteries of Cybele, was killed and thrown into the Barathron.² The priestess Ninos was punished with death for having celebrated the worship of Sabazios.³ Phryne was accused of impiety for having introduced the new god Isodætes into Athens.⁴

Yet Athens, which welcomed foreigners, was equally hospitable to their gods.⁵ In a cosmopolitan town like the Peiræus Metics and passing foreigners had to be allowed to practise their national worship, and they did so with the permission of the Council and the people. The merchants of Cition obtained authority to acquire a piece of land for the erection of a temple to the Cyprian Aphrodite, just as the Egyptian merchants had previously built a temple of Isis.⁶ The Thracian goddess Bendis also had her temple, at the Peiræus,⁷ and the assimilation of this goddess with Artemis of Brauron, whose statue was said to have been carried off to Lemnos by the Pelasgians,⁸ made it possible to give an official character to her festival.⁹ These foreign gods might also win followers among the Athenians. In spite of the scoffing of the comic writers, the cults of Sabazios and Adonis made converts,¹⁰ especially among the women, who were more susceptible to the attraction of the mysterious, sensual religions of the East. Foreign cults were practised by religious associations—*orgeones* or *thiasoi*—which included citizens and foreigners, free men and slaves, alike. Even when they were of a purely private nature they were suspected and had a bad reputation. A citizen who took part in them publicly lost caste; one has only to remember the contemptuous tone in which Demosthenes describes the initiations and “other hocus-pocus” at which Æschines and his mother presided.¹¹ To a true-born Athenian, foreign gods looked as discomfited and grotesque by the side of the

¹ CXXXVIII, p. 132. ² Jul., v. 159A-B; Suid., s.v. Μητραγύρτης.

³ Jos., *Apion*, ii. 37; Schol. on Dem., 431. 25.

⁴ CXXXVIII, pp. 81-2, 135-6; XV, xxvi (1902), pp. 216-18.

⁵ Strabo, x. 3. 18. ⁶ II, ii. 168. ⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 4. 11.

⁸ Ar., ap. Hesych., s.v. Μεγάλη θεός; Plut., *Mor.*, 247E.

⁹ Plato, *Rep.*, i. 327A, 328A, 354A; II, ii. 741.

¹⁰ Ar., *Birds*, 875; *Wasps*, 9; *Lys.*, 387-90; Plut., *Alc.*, 18.

¹¹ Dem., *Crown*, 25C-60.

national gods as barbarians were supposed to appear in the presence of Greeks. Aristophanes made free enough with Dionysos and Heracles, but he never indulged in wilder caricature than in the Thracian god in the *Birds*, Tribballos, that witless puppet, unable to pronounce a single Greek sentence correctly, "the most barbarian of all the gods."¹

4. COMMUNITY OF MANNERS

Community of manners also was a mark of Hellenic unity, and by their manners, too, the Greeks were distinguished from the barbarians. When Thucydides wishes to contrast the way of life of his contemporaries with that of the Greeks of old time, he does not omit to note all cases in which the latter behaved "in the manner of the barbarians."²

The principle and organization of the family were the same everywhere. Whether we consider Athens or Sparta—to take the two cities which are usually contrasted—we find the same duty of ensuring the continuation of the family by marriage, the same concern about the legitimacy of children, and the exclusion of the bastard from the family and from the inheritance. In both cities the father of the family had sovereign power, and could even expose his children. In both cities the legal position of the wife was mitigated by manners. The mother of the family did not cease to be under the authority of a guardian, but in practice she held an important and honoured place in the home. She was mistress of the house, directing the work of the slaves and watching over the children. More, she did not hesitate to give advice to her husband, who was quite ready to listen to her. The Spartans were said to allow their wives to lead them;³ Themistocles thought it a great joke to show his wife being ordered about by his child, and himself, Themistocles, whom all the Athenians obeyed, submitting to the wishes of his wife.⁴ In both cities the organization of family property, and therefore the rules of succession, were the same; the *epipamatis* girl in Sparta had no more rights than the *epikleros* girl in Athens.⁵ The Greek family was quite

¹ Ar., *Birds*, 1573.

² Thuc., i. 5-6.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 5-7.

⁴ Plut., *Mor.*, 1C-D.

⁵ Hdt., vi. 57; Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 11; Hesych., s.v. *ἐπιπαμάτιδα*.

unlike the barbarian family. Only barbarians practised polygamy,¹ sold their wives to one another,² and made them work like slaves.³

Like the organization of the family, that of the city was inspired by the same principles in all Greek states. The Greek was a citizen who obeyed only the law, and the law, whether the city was an aristocracy or a democracy, was held to be the expression of the general will. It was because the laws of the city guaranteed rights to him that the citizen recognized that he had duties towards it. The barbarian, on the contrary, was a subject, obeying a master. Even when a Greek city accepted the government of a tyrant, the master which it gave itself refused to consider his fellow-citizens as slaves, and, like Peisistratos, he behaved *μᾶλλον πολιτικῶς ἢ τυραννικῶς*.⁴

The unity of the Greek world was further marked by community of intellectual tendencies and æsthetic tastes. Among all the Greeks, physical beauty was prized to the point of deserving divine honours.⁵ So nudity did not shock the Greek; it was frequent among working men, and the rule among athletes. The barbarian, on the other hand, was ashamed to be seen naked.⁶ If the early Ionian school shows a preference for draped figures and "a kind of dislike for nakedness,"⁷ it is apparently due to the influence of Oriental ideas. Art was pan-Hellenic; neither architecture nor sculpture had local ties, any more than language and literature. It is true that the ancients distinguished between two orders of architecture, which, quite apart from any question of place or origin, appeared to correspond to the two great Greek groups, Dorian and Ionian, the Doric order being strong, severe, and rather heavy, and the Ionic being elegant but trivial, the one suggesting male beauty, the other feminine beauty. Just as there were two orders of architecture, so there were, so to speak, two orders of sculpture, Dorian sculpture, with its solid modelling, treating the athletic type of the naked man for choice, and Ionian sculpture, facile, rich in imagination, taking the smiling, daintily

¹ Eur., *Andr.*, 177-80, 216-17, 464-70.

² Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 5. 11-12.

³ Plato, *Laws*, vii. 805D-E; Arist., *Pol.*, i. 1. 5.

⁴ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 16. 2.

⁵ Hdt., v. 47.

⁶ Hdt., i. 10; Thuc., i. 6.

⁷ **XLIX**, i, pp. 189-90.

adorned woman as its favourite model. Within these big divisions, moreover, sub-divisions can be established. Even in an art the formulæ of which seem fixed almost beyond alteration, we find, if we examine the monuments closely, variety in Doric architecture. The temples of Sicily are intended by their colossal dimensions and unexpected combinations to astonish the spectator; the Doric of the Parthenon is tinged with Ionism with all the sense of proportion and rightness characteristic of Atticism. With the more reason can one attempt to recognize schools in sculpture. Archæologists err in multiplying schools and branches of schools, separated by imperceptible shades of difference, and have difficulty in assigning them to a geographical region with any certainty; but they are right in distributing in groups those anonymous works which show the same technique and are inspired by the same artistic conception.

But the existence of these schools, which were like dialects of art, did not prevent the formation of a common sense of beauty. They influenced each other continually. Artists travelled much. Tradition may have exaggerated the peregrinations of the Cretan masters Dipœnos and Scyllis, who were said to have worked at Argos, Sicyon, Delphi, and even Ambracia;¹ but there are innumerable instances of artists working far away from their own country, as Bathycles of Magnesia did in Laconia,² or Alxenor of Naxos in Bœotia.³ On their travels artists met and collaborated. Calamis of Athens and Onatas of Ægina worked together to make the chariot of Hieron at Olympia.⁴ The great sanctuaries, with the countless monuments set up by all the cities, were veritable museums, presenting works of the most different style side by side, and giving artists an opportunity of knowing and appreciating their rivals. At Delphi such different styles could be seen close together—to take only three examples—as the Peloponnesian solidity of the Cleobis and Biton, the Ionian abundance and facility of the frieze of the Treasury of the Cnidians, and the graceful Attic sobriety of the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians. It is not surprising that art tended to unity. Before the Persian Wars, Ionia set the tone, and Ionian artists exercised a profound

¹ XLIX, i, pp. 222 ff.

³ XLIX, i, p. 255.

² Paus., iii. 18. 9

⁴ Paus., vi. 12. 1.

influence, even in the Peloponnese. After the Persian Wars, the Attic school placed its stamp on all Greek art.

The unity of the Greek world found its most complete expression in the great pan-Hellenic festivals, such as the Olympic Games. All Greek cities were officially invited to take part, and no one was allowed to raise an obstacle to the participation of any. The sacred truce, proclaimed by the *theoroi*, suspended hostilities all over Greece, so that the pilgrims might take the road without risk of being molested by enemies. These games, open to all Greeks, were closed to barbarians; to be admitted to compete at Olympia was a veritable patent of naturalization, and it was in this way that the kings of Macedon obtained recognition as Hellenes. The crowd, which flocked from all parts, truly represented the whole of Greece, and the man who dreamed of universal glory could take advantage of this gathering of peoples. Artists exhibited their works, musicians gave concerts, writers organized public readings, and orators made speeches. A special form of eloquence was even created—the Olympic discourse, a show speech on the politics of the Greek world in general. Yet none could aspire to glory comparable to that of the victorious athlete. Received in triumph in his native city, the *Olympionikos* was sung by the greatest poets, who composed the hymn of victory in his honour, and his image was immortalized by the greatest artists. His name was handed down to posterity; the lists of victors were drawn up with as much care as those of the eponymous magistrates. There was assuredly no noble or royal family which could aspire to the renown of the family of Diagoras of Rhodes, in which, from generation to generation, athletes accumulated the crowns earned by their victories.¹

The Olympic Games are what give the clearest impression of Hellenic unity, and best show the purely moral value of that unity. “Under the plane-trees of the Altis which stood round the Agora of Olympia, all the sons of Hellen could be known, amid the motley variety of costumes and dialects, by their single conception of worship, of social life, of their common country, of art, and of life.”²

¹ Paus., vi. 7. 1–3.

² Monceaux, *La Grèce avant Alexandre*, p. 194.

CHAPTER II

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE Greeks were conscious of being members of one body. Was this sentiment of solidarity translated into deeds? A study of international relations will tell us.

In the eyes of the Greeks the barbarians were not only foreigners, but inferior beings; between Greek and barbarian, says Isocrates, there is no less difference than between man and beast.¹ The superiority of the Greeks gave them rights; it was natural and just that the barbarians should obey them as slaves obeyed free men.² Between them no friendship was possible, but there must be eternal war.³ So no one ever sought to establish a common denominator between them; when the Greeks invoked the unwritten laws, the laws common to mankind, they evidently meant only Greek mankind.

Among the Greeks themselves, the situation had altered. At the beginning, no doubt, their relations with one another were no more friendly than with the barbarians. In the Homeric poems piracy is allowed by the common law; it is only reprehensible when practised against fellow-citizens, and is lawful and even honourable when directed against foreigners;⁴ it is a legitimate means of livelihood, no less than hunting and fishing.⁵ This was no longer so in classical times. In certain cases, no doubt, individuals took the law into their own hands, seizing the goods or person of a stranger, but these cases were governed by international agreements.⁶ When an Athenian died a violent death abroad, his kin could detain citizens of the foreign city concerned until they

¹ Isocr., xv. 293.

² Eur., *I. A.*, 1400-1; *Andr.*, 665-6; Arist., *Pol.*, i. 1. 5.

³ Eur., *Hec.*, 1199-1201; Livy, xxxi. 29.

⁴ *Od.*, i. 398; iii. 106; etc.

⁵ Arist., *Pol.*, i. 3. 4.

⁶ III, 322.

had obtained justice.¹ The system of reprisals, *σῦλαι*, by which an injured man, who had not obtained satisfaction from a foreign law-court, seized a pledge on his opponent or, failing that, on fellow-citizens of the latter, was also an international procedure which required the intervention of the State.² In Athens the validity of seizures was judged by the Assembly of the people.³ Indeed, war usually followed or was caused by reprisals, and the practice of them was so general that it was assumed that they were the origin of the legendary Messenian Wars.⁴ Once war was declared, privateering became a legal method of attacking the enemy's trade and food-supplies. Spartan privateers went right to the market of the Peiræus and carried off merchants and ship-owners.⁵ But piracy was regarded as a crime in common law, just like robbery under arms and brigandage; only among semi-barbaric peoples, like the Ætolians and Acarnanians, did such practices survive,⁶ and they were viewed with general disapproval. The Oracle of Delphi, the organ of the Hellenic conscience, condemned the pirates of Scyros and authorized the Athenians to expel the guilty Dolopians from the island,⁷ and the Melians had to pay a fine of ten talents for having received pirates in their harbour.⁸

So in the mutual relations of Hellenes usages, traditions, became established, which, though not always embodied in legal texts or diplomatic documents, were none the less religiously observed. It was a violation of justice to transgress this "Hellenic custom," τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων;⁹ thus, when the Megarians were excluded from the market of Athens, they appealed less to treaties than to the common law, τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια.¹⁰

2. CITIZEN AND FOREIGNER

The essential function of international law was to regulate the relations of the citizen and the foreigner. There was a time, no doubt, when the distinction between the two was "deep and ineffaceable."¹¹ But this opposition, which some

¹ CXL, p. 281; XXIX, s.v. *Androlepsia*.

² CXL, p. 284.

³ Dem., *Timocr.*, 703.

⁴ Diod., viii. 5.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 1. 21; cf. Thuc., ii. 69.

⁶ Thuc., i. 5.

⁷ Plut., *Cim.*, 8.

⁸ Dem., *Theocr.*, 1339.

⁹ Thuc., iv. 97; cf. Eur., *Or.*, 495.

¹⁰ Plut., *Per.*, 29.

¹¹ XXXIX, p. 228.

believe to have been based on the exclusiveness of national religions, lasted a very short time, and even Fustel de Coulanges is compelled to remark that, far from "establishing a system of vexation against the foreigner," the city gave him a good welcome and looked after him.¹

Indeed, in every period, we see foreigners living among the citizens. From the very beginning the stranger, like the poor man and the suppliant, was under the protection of the gods, and of Zeus in particular.² It was in the guise of strangers that the gods loved to knock at the doors of men. He who turned away the man sent by Zeus³ incurred the divine curse.⁴ Classical times, no less than Homeric times, observed these laws of humanity. The Milesians established on the Euxine picked up shipwrecked men and sent them home with supplies for the journey.⁵ In Crete, at the public meals, two tables were set for strangers, who were even served before the magistrates.⁶ Attic tragedy frequently celebrated the hospitality of Athens; the *Suppliants* of Æschylos, the *Œdipus at Colonus* of Sophocles, the *Heraclidae* of Euripides were variants on the same theme, which had become commonplace, of the humanity of the Athenians to those who sought a refuge on their soil. Similarly the Theban government, after the taking of Athens by Lysander, decided, in defiance of Sparta, to receive the Athenians who had been driven from their country, and Plutarch regards this conduct as truly Greek and humane—'Ελληνικὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα.⁷

The passing foreigner was in a fashion under the special protection of a citizen, his guest-friend. In Homeric times herdsmen, no less than kings, prided themselves on giving a good welcome to all who knocked at their door. These meetings, often due to chance, created, first between the two men, and then between their families, ties which were perpetuated from generation to generation. On the field of battle Diomedes and Glaucos recognize one another as guest-friends, and refuse to fight.⁸ As soon as a Greek arrived in a foreign city he knew where to turn, and went in search of his guest-friend, showing him, if he did not know him already,

¹ XXXIX, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 207; xiv. 55-60.

³ Heracleides, fr. xviii.

⁷ Plut., *Lys.*, 27.

² *Od.*, vii. 165, 181; ix. 270.

⁴ Hes., *W. & D.*, 327.

⁶ *Ath.*, iv. 143c.

⁸ *Il.*, vi. 119-236.

the signs of identification handed down from father to son.¹ He would then receive, not only a bed, a place at the fire, and often board as well, but help and protection of every kind. At the beginning hospitality filled the place of international law. There was, moreover, a natural reason for it in the absence of any establishment open to travellers. The Lydians were credited with the creation of the first hostels, in the shape of caravanserais on the great post routes.² Greek cities, too, had their inns, but they were always places of doubtful repute, and the practice of asking a guest-friend for lodging continued. Thus, all over Greece, bonds of friendship and mutual obligation were formed between families, from city to city, in spite of political rivalries and wars. Pericles was, by birth, the guest-friend of Archidamos, King of Sparta,³ and Alcibiades was that of the Ephor Endios.⁴

In addition to the foreigner who came and went, there were others who dwelt in the country. The Homeric poems speak of the exile who, having committed a murder, has had to leave his home and live in a foreign land,⁵ likewise under the protection of his guest-friend. Later they were merchants, who finally settled in the city to which their business had called them. Thus a class of domiciled aliens was formed. Their intention of adopting a new place of residence was proved by the length of their stay; an inscription from Locris lays down one month as the period at the end of which a foreigner is no longer considered as a passing traveller.⁶ Thenceforward, as a scholiast says,⁷ while he is still in great part a foreigner, he is something of a citizen.

It is in Athens that one must study the legal position of the domiciled foreigner, the Metic. At the beginning he was probably admitted into the city only on the condition that he found someone to answer for him, what was called a *prostates*, who would naturally be his guest-friend. But from the Vth century onwards the *prostates* had nothing to do but to introduce to the deme the foreigner who wished to be enrolled, without this creating obligations for either party. For the Athenian city had substituted, for the ties which

¹ Lys., *Arist.*, 25.

³ Plut., *Per.*, 33.

⁵ *Il.*, xxiv. 480-1; many instances in *CXLVII*, p. 51.

⁶ *III*, 322; cf. *Ar. Byz.*, fr. 51.

² *CXXII*, pp. 97-9.

⁴ Thuc., viii. 6.

⁷ *XIX*, xxii (1887), p. 408.

originally existed between persons, legal obligations or rights which bound the Metic to the State, without any intermediary. The Metic was not a citizen, but he came within the organization of the city. He retained certain disabilities from his previous condition. He paid the Metic tax, a direct poll-tax, which was, however, very light. Like other foreigners, he paid market dues from which citizens were exempt. His life seems to have been reckoned of less account than a citizen's; the murderer of a Metic was condemned to exile, that of a citizen to death. But in respect of civil rights as a whole there was no difference between a Metic and an Athenian. The law-courts saw that he had justice, and the Polemarch protected his family and his goods as the Archon did those of the citizen. The ownership of land, it is true, by which the citizen was recognized in the ancient city, was forbidden him; a decree of the people was necessary to authorize him to buy a house or a piece of ground. On the other hand, his industrial and commercial activity was allowed free play. The big fortunes in movable property belonged to the Metics, who almost monopolized trade by sea and traffic in money. Lastly—and nothing shows better that Athens treated them less as foreigners than as fellow-citizens—the city admitted them to its religious feasts. In the Panathenaic procession the Metics had their place beside the citizens. In gratitude for the protection which he enjoyed, the Metic contracted obligations to the city, and these, too, helped to efface every distinction between citizen and domiciled alien. He paid the same taxes as the citizens and took his share of the Liturgies. He was liable to military service, and, according to his wealth, served as a hoplite in the troops reserved for territorial defence or as a seaman on the triremes. The Metics played only a small part in the land army, but it was largely on them that the naval power of Athens rested.

The condition of the domiciled foreigner varied from one city to another. The hospitality of peoples no doubt varied according to their natural bent, but their attitude towards the foreigner depended still more on their economic development. In states in which agriculture was almost the sole, or the dominant occupation, it was hard for the foreigner to find a place. He was never admitted to the right of owning

land, and he could not hire himself out as a labourer, for there were either big estates on which the work was done by a class of serfs, or there were small farmers who tilled their own fields with the aid of a slave or two. In commercial cities, on the other hand, the foreigner was very well received. Trade on a large scale requires not only the exchange of products, but the exchange of persons, and the business world is essentially international. There the Metic would find work by the side of the citizen, either as a craftsman or, still better, as a trader, from the small retailer to the great merchant who freighted whole fleets and invested his capital in every trading centre in the Hellenic Mediterranean.

It is just these economic differences which explain the attitude of Sparta and Athens. Sparta was considered to be hostile to foreigners; there was a law forbidding foreigners to settle in Laconia, and authorizing the Ephors to expel them.¹ We must not, it is true, take these documents too literally. Certain expulsions were perfectly legitimate police measures,² and Sparta did not refuse to admit foreigners whom she considered worthy of the privilege. She gave a good reception to Tyrtæos, to Alcman, to Terpandros, on account of the services which these musicians and poets could render the State. But in a city in which the citizens formed an absolutely closed class and had their land tilled by serfs there was no need for foreign labour; for industry and trade, the activity of which did not go beyond the boundaries of the city, the Pericæci were sufficient. The antithesis of Spartan hatred of strangers was Athenian friendliness to strangers. As soon as Solon's Athens turned her activities outwards, she received a foreign population, and Cleisthenes entered many Metics on the citizen rolls.³ The aristocrats might feel some mistrust as they saw the foreign element growing, but the democrats, for whom the development of the fleet and of sea trade was closely connected with democratic government, Themistocles⁴ no less than Pericles, endeavoured to attract strangers to Athens. Public opinion was with them, and the more illustrious Metics were surrounded with respect. Cephalos, who came from Syracuse at the request of Pericles, was not only the big manufacturer

¹ See above, p. 142.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 1. 10.

² Hdt., iii. 148.

⁴ Diod., xi. 43.

who had an arms factory, the big merchant whose sons took part in the colonization of Thurii; he was the friend of the most celebrated men in Athens, and it is at his house that Socrates, on the evening of the feast of Bendis, draws for his friends the picture of the ideal city.

Greek cities, even when they welcomed strangers, did not go so far as to treat them exactly the same as citizens. They forbade marriage between citizens and foreigners. The principle was to recognize as legitimate only those children whose father and mother both had the citizenship;¹ this was the law at Byzantion² as in Athens.³ At the very least, the mother must belong to a city which had received the right of marriage, *epigamia*, a privilege which Athens granted only to the Eubceans and the Plataeans.⁴ To obtain the citizenship was an exceptional favour. But even in this respect we must distinguish between cities. Sparta endeavoured to keep the blood of the conquerors perfectly pure; in Herodotos' time only two foreigners had received the citizenship, and the matter was considered so serious that the Oracle of Delphi had to be consulted first.⁵ In manufacturing and trading cities, where a larger population was needed, there was less difficulty. Towns with an insufficient population, says Aristotle, will even accept the son of a citizen and a slave-woman, but they grow stricter as the population increases.⁶ When Athens was still only a small town, she allowed Cleisthenes to create new citizens, and permitted mixed marriages. In the VIth century the party leaders took wives from abroad; Megacles married a daughter of the tyrant of Sicyon,⁷ and Peisistratos an Argive woman.⁸ Themistocles and Cimon had foreign mothers. But in Pericles' time the city became more exclusive; a decree of 451 asserted the principle that the citizen must be born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother.⁹ Athens no longer desired to increase her population, and the citizens were little disposed to share with others the advantages of every kind which their rank gave them. The naturalized

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 1. 9.

² Arist., *Ec.*, ii. 2. 3.

³ Arist., *'Aθ. πολ.*, 42; Poll., iii. 21; cf. Ar., *Birds*, 1652.

⁴ Dem., *Neæra*, 1380-1; **XXIX**, s.v. *Matrimonium*.

⁵ Hdt., ix. 33-5.

⁶ Arist., *Pol.*, iii. 3. 5.

⁷ Hdt., vi. 130.

⁸ Arist., *'Aθ. πολ.*, 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

foreigner had not full political rights, since he could not aspire to the Archonship or the priesthoods, but, like the other citizens, he drew Heliast's pay, received the Cleruch's allotment of land, and had his share of the free distributions. It was on the occasion of a gift of corn presented to the Athenian people that, in order that the citizens might have a larger portion, the rolls were subjected to general revision, and over 5,000 intruders were excluded from the citizenship.¹ After the time of Pericles, the city, harassed by conflicts at home and abroad, applied the laws less strictly, and it was obliged to repair the losses caused by the war and the plague. So citizenship was conferred wholesale on the Platæans, and on the slaves who fought at Arginusæ; less strictness was shown about legitimacy of birth; Demosthenes' father, like Timotheos, was born of the union of a citizen with a foreign woman. Non-citizens succeeded in getting their names on the rolls. "The Phratry and the citizen lists," says Isocrates, "are becoming filled with persons who do not belong to the city."² But at least Athens was never reduced to the expedients of the cities which, lacking men and lacking money, proceeded to sell the citizenship.³

3. COMMERCIAL LAW

In time of peace the relations of the cities were chiefly commercial.

On principle, trade was free. It was as a measure of war that the Argives and the Æginetans prohibited the import of Attic pottery.⁴ So, too, the decree which excluded the Megarians from the markets and harbours dependent on Athens was regarded as a hostile act, and contrary to commercial law.⁵ The duties imposed on goods, both on import and on export, were purely fiscal measures, and were in no way intended to establish a system of protection or prohibition. The only restrictions to which freedom of trade was subjected were, in war time, the prohibition of the export of anything which might be used for national defence, and,

¹ Plut., *Per.*, 37; Philoch., ap. Schol. on Ar., *Wasps*, 718.

² Isocr., viii. 88.

³ Arist., *Ec.*, ii. 2. 3.

⁴ Hdt., v. 88; Ath., xi. 502c; *Classical Review*, xii (1898), p. 867.

⁵ Thuc., i. 67, 139; Ar., *Peace*, 609; *Ach.*, 523 ff.; Schol. on *Peace*, 246; Plut., *Per.*, 29.

at all times, the control of the food-supply. Being always threatened by famine in a country which produced too little, the Greek cities were obliged to keep the products of their soil at home. Solon allowed the export of oil alone;¹ Selymbria forbade that of corn;² it was by special measures that Athens permitted Aphytis to obtain provisions in Athens,³ Methone to buy wheat from Byzantion,⁴ and Clazomenæ to obtain corn from the neighbouring ports.⁵ Indeed, cities tried to detain corn which was only passing through their harbour in transit; Athens forbade the re-export of more than one-third of the corn which came into the Peiræus.⁶

In the common law the principle was freedom of trade, but this did not prevent cities from obtaining advantages for themselves by special agreements. The statesman, says Aristotle,⁷ should know what each city has to export or desires to import, that he may conclude commercial conventions and arrangements. Thus, Athens reserved to herself, by a treaty with Ceos, the monopoly to export of vermillion,⁸ and Amyntas of Macedon arranged with the Chalcidian cities for the export of pitch and building-timber.⁹ Still more important were the agreements governing trade in food-stuffs, such as those struck by Athens with the princes of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, under which Athenian merchants enjoyed priority of buying and loading, and were exempt from export duties.¹⁰

The international character of trade led to the internationalization of everything which was used in exchanges—weights and measures and money. On principle, each city had its own system of weights and measures. These public measures, the use of which was often compulsory,¹¹ were kept by the State, and, under the supervision of special magistrates, like the *Metronomoi* in Athens,¹² they served as a standard for those used by individuals. This diversity of weights and measures was an impediment of trade, but in practice the systems were simplified and were eventually

¹ Plut., *Sol.*, 24. ² Arist., *Œc.*, ii. 2. 17. ³ II, i. 41.

⁴ II, i. 40. ⁵ II, ii. 14b. ⁶ Arist., *‘Aθ. πολ.*, 51.

⁷ Arist., *Rhet.*, i. 4. 11. ⁸ II, ii. 546.

⁹ CXLVI, no. 107. ¹⁰ Dem., *Lept.*, 466–7.

¹¹ Schol. on Ar., *Clouds*, 639; *XL*, xxxi (1907), pp. 46–7.

¹² Arist., *‘Aθ. πολ.*, 51.

reduced to two—the Æginetan and the Euboic. Moreover, this latter system was the more widely used. When Solon caused it to be adopted in Athens, it was in order to facilitate the relations of Athenian merchants with the merchants of Chalcis, Eretria, Corinth, and, through the colonies of those cities, all Sicilian Greece. Cities made agreements among themselves for the unification of weights and measures. Aristophanes does not fail to show us the new-born city of Nephelococcygia concluding an agreement of this kind with the Olophyxians.¹ When a single city exercised hegemony over a whole group it was careful to obtain, by persuasion or force, the adoption of its own measures. Thus, the Attic system became that of the whole marine confederacy.

Money, in the same way, acquired an international value. The Greeks had very soon understood the advantages which the invention of the Lydians offered to trade. By the VIth century monetary economy was tending to supplant natural economy. Each city had its mint, which struck coins bearing the emblem of the city. But, as in the case of weights and measures, there was a movement towards unification. The Greek world was divided between two monetary systems, corresponding to the two systems of weights, and particular agreements between one city and another gradually made monetary unity complete. Mytilene and Phocæa agreed to issue coins of the same value, bearing the emblems of the two cities.² Above all, the importance assumed by the trade of certain cities and the good alloy of their currency caused certain coins to be accepted on every market. The money of Ægina, Corinth, Phocæa, Cyzicos, and Lampsacos had international value. Athens prided herself on striking only first-rate coins from the silver of Laureion, the alloy and weight being guaranteed by meticulously careful work. Moreover, Athenian trade had so developed that one could be sure of finding everywhere an Athenian merchant who would take back Athenian coin.³ The beautiful tetradrachms, adorned on the reverse with Athene's owl, were a pan-Hellenic coinage, if there ever was one.

This was not all. Although Greek antiquity was unacquainted with fiduciary money, except in times of crisis,⁴

¹ Ar., *Birds*, 1040-1.

³ Xen., *Vect.*, iii. 2.

² I, 150.

⁴ Arist., *Æc.*, ii. 2. 16.

it tried to do away with the inconveniences of transporting and exchanging coin. Banking¹ was another consequence of the international character of trade. Within the city the money-changer, becoming a banker, continued the transactions which had formerly been conducted by the temples, namely, deposit and loan. But he extended his operations outside the city. The great banks, like that of Pasion in Athens, had branches or agencies in the chief centres at which Athenians traded. The banker became the natural intermediary between merchants; he kept current accounts for his clients, in which he entered the sums received or paid in their name; he opened credits which made it possible to travel without a load of coin. The son of Sopæos, wishing to avoid the risk of carrying money between Heracleia and Athens, used a regular bill of exchange, backed by a guaranty of the banker Pasion.²

As relations extended, there was gradually formed, if not a true international commercial law, at least a body of custom and use which took its place. The important thing was, to regulate the competence of law-courts. States concluded special agreements among themselves to govern procedure. As a rule, the case was tried in the city of the defender, but the pursuer might appeal to the courts of a third city, chosen as arbiter; this was the rôle played by Mytilene between Lebedos and Teos.³ Special courts tried cases between foreigners, or between a citizen and a foreigner; we see them at work at Ephesos, Mylasa, and Medeon.⁴ Athens, naturally, presents the pattern of the commercial court. Commercial suits, *δίκαι ἐμπορικά*, those which arose between ship-owners or merchants in respect of written contracts for import or export transactions, were treated as a class by themselves. In the Vth century, such cases were examined by special magistrates, the *Nautodikai*, who afterwards presided in the court; in Demosthenes' time, the *Nautodikai* were replaced by the Thesmothetæ. The procedure was arranged for the convenience of litigants who only spent a short time in the city. Cases were tried in the winter months, when the bad weather kept sailors ashore, and they had to be decided within a month of the initiation

¹ **XIX**, lv (1920), pp. 115 ff.

² Isocr., xviii. 17. 37.

³ Lebas and Waddington, 86.

⁴ **X**, i, p. 36; **XI**, v (1881), pp. 102, 46.

of proceedings. Lastly, the sentence was executed at once. The loser had to pay at once or furnish security if he did not want to be put into prison. There had been no constraint of the person in Athens since Solon's reforms, but these precautions had to be maintained against men, who, by the nature of their calling, might any day take the sea again and vanish without paying their debts.

Peaceful and friendly relations were maintained between cities by the practice of public hospitality, or *proxenia*. The proxenos was for the foreign state what the guest-friend was for the individual. He received and lodged the ambassadors of the city of which he was proxenos, introduced them to the assembly of the people or the magistrates, and put them into touch with the priests and the gods. He acted as guest-friend to private individuals who had none. Traders asked him to help them in legal matters, to stand security for them, and even to take charge of their money or to look after their inheritance. The proxenos was indeed "the patron of those who voyage for trade."¹ The rank of proxenos and the advantages attached to it were bestowed so lavishly that *proxenia* ended by being no more than an ornamental honour. But in the Vth and IVth centuries the proxenos had plenty to do. He was the official defender of all the interests, religious, financial, or diplomatic, of the state which he represented.² Cimon, the proxenos of Sparta, maintained a pro-Spartan policy in the Athenian Assembly.³

Thus trade and navigation brought the cities together. A merchant class was formed, travelling about continually, visiting every trading centre in Greece, and acquiring cosmopolitan habits and ideas. The pseudo-Demosthenic speech against Zenothemis shows the involved character of international trade. A merchant borrows money in Athens in order to buy corn at Syracuse. He loads this on the ship of some Massaliot ship-owners, who, obtaining another loan on the security of the cargo, hasten to send the money which they obtain to Massalia. The fraudulent tricks of the ship-owners lead to proceedings being set afoot, first in the courts of Cephallenia, where the ship first put in, and then in those of Athens, where the case is further complicated by the move-

¹ I, 2060; cf. 2256.

² Thuc., v. 59.

³ Plut., *Cim.*, 16; Paus., iv. 24. 6; Andoc., *Peace*, 3.

ment of prices on the corn-market. Nothing shows better how, from one end of the Greek world to the other, there was intercrossing of business relations, lawful and otherwise.

4. THE LAWS OF WAR

When war broke out, everything which might have brought the Greeks together was forgotten, and primitive barbarism reappeared. The old ties of ethnic kinship had no more worth.¹ The rules of justice were abolished and everything was permitted against the enemy.² "If an act is useful for the country," says Agesilaos, "it is good to do it."³ There was no right but that of might. The Athenians cynically state this principle to the Melians, whom they are attacking contrary to all equity; when the two parties are of equal power, you have resort to justice, but otherwise it is natural that the stronger should act as they please and that the weaker should submit.⁴

It was contrary to the law of nations to attack without a declaration of war;⁵ hostilities were not commenced until a formal declaration had been made, generally following the issue of an ultimatum.⁶ The ambassadors who conducted negotiations had only a short time, often twenty-four hours, within which to leave the country.⁷ On principle, neutrality was a recognized right; the truce concluded by Athens and Sparta proclaimed the right of other cities to declare in full liberty for either of the two opponents.⁸ But in practice neutrals did not escape the misfortunes of war. On principle an armed force could not enter neutral territory without the consent of the city concerned;⁹ in practice belligerents did not hesitate to march through neutral states and to engage battle on their neighbours' territory as freely as on their own.¹⁰ When the Spartans stopped ships they made no distinction between the allies of Athens and neutrals.¹¹ Neutrality was impossible; every conflict soon led to general war. Athens forced Melos to abandon her neutrality and to join the enemies of Sparta.¹²

¹ Plut., *Lys.*, vii. 5; Thuc., vii. 57.

² Plut., *Mor.*, 223B.

³ *Ibid.*, 210E.

⁴ Thuc., v. 89; cf. Plato, *Gorg.*, 483C-D, 488C.

⁵ Hdt., v. 81.

⁶ Thuc., i. 29, 26; vi. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 78; v. 47, 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iv. 92.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 67.

¹² *Ibid.*, v. 84-111.

War was conducted without mercy. At Plataea, Pausanias gave orders that there should be no quarter,¹ but he felt justified in treating barbarians in this way. Unfortunately, the same rule was applied to Greeks as well. The massacre of prisoners was not infrequent;² after Ægos Potamos 3,000 Athenian prisoners were killed.³ No pains were taken to distinguish among the conquered;⁴ the Corinthians, massacring the Corcyraeans, "slew even their friends without knowing them."⁵ If they escaped with their lives, prisoners were in danger of being maimed. The Samians branded the Athenian prisoners on the forehead, to avenge their fellow-countrymen who had been treated in the same way by the Athenians.⁶ Crueller still, the Athenians decided to cut off the right hand of their prisoners.⁷ It was a small thing to be thrown into chains,⁸ imprisoned in quarries,⁹ and abandoned to hunger and thirst.¹⁰ The prisoner's only hope of safety lay in the greed of the victor who chose to make a profit by accepting a ransom. The normal rate of ransoms was two minas a head in the VIth century,¹¹ and one mina in the IVth.¹² Another thing which might restrain the conqueror was the fear of reprisals. This led to the exchange of the prisoners taken on either side, a man for a man;¹³ the Peace of Nicias provided for the mutual return of prisoners.¹⁴

Antiquity was ignorant of the modern distinction between combatants and non-combatants. The Spartans who held up Athenian merchants on the sea put them to death like prisoners of war.¹⁵ When a city was taken by storm or surrendered at discretion, everything in it, persons and goods, belonged to the victor.¹⁶ Usually the men were put to death and the women and children sold as slaves; this was the lot inflicted by the Spartans on Plataea¹⁷ and by the Athenians on Melos.¹⁸ It was an act of clemency to sell the men,¹⁹ to make them work in the mines,²⁰ or to keep them in prison

¹ Diod., xi. 32. 5.² Thuc., i. 30, 50; ii. 5.³ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 1. 32; Plut., *Lys.*, 13.⁴ Thuc., iii. 32.⁵ Thuc., i. 50.⁶ Plut., *Per.*, 26; Ael., *V. H.*, ii. 9; cf. Plut., *Nic.*, 29.⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 1. 31; cf. Ael., *V. H.*, ii. 9.⁸ Hdt., v. 77.⁹ Xen., *Hell.*, i. 2. 14.¹⁰ Thuc., vii. 87; Plut., *Nic.*, 29; Diod., xiii. 33.¹¹ Hdt., v. 77; vi. 77.¹² Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, 1134b.¹³ Thuc., v. 3.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 18.¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 67.¹⁶ Xen., *Cyr.*, vii. 5. 73.¹⁷ Thuc., iii. 68.¹⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 116.¹⁹ Plut., *Ages.*, 9.²⁰ Polyæn., ii. 1. 26.

in the hope of a ransom. When Argos destroyed Mycenæ in 468, she sold part of the inhabitants as slaves and drove out the rest, who had to seek a refuge abroad.¹ After the expedition against Corcyra, the Corinthians put the Corcyraean slaves up to sale, but kept the citizens as prisoners.² For the women and children there was little chance of escaping slavery.³ Alcibiades had a slave-woman from Melos, by whom he had a son. At least the massacre of the whole population was exceptional, and was only considered legitimate in the case of barbarians. The people of Byzantium and Chalcedon, when they defeated the Bithynians, massacred women and children, probably because, already possessing plenty of slaves, they thought that they would be difficult to sell and not very profitable.⁴

A city was less hardly treated if it managed to sign a capitulation.⁵ It was provided in the terms of surrender of Mytilene that no Mytilenæan should be imprisoned, reduced to slavery, or put to death before the return of the representatives sent to Athens.⁶ As a rule the inhabitants were allowed to withdraw, they and their families, with one or two garments and a small sum of money for the journey.⁷ Brasidas showed himself more generous when he allowed the Amphipolitans to remain in the country or to depart within five days with their belongings.⁸ It was said that at the taking of Troy the victors had acted worthily of Greeks in permitting each Trojan to take away his dearest possession.⁹ The capitulation also laid down the obligations of the defeated state; Athens made Ægina¹⁰ and Thasos¹¹ agree to destroy their walls, to surrender their ships, and to pay a war tribute.

War was made not only on men, but on things. Every invasion was accompanied by pillage and ravaging. The Spartans saw no other way of reducing Athens but to ravage the territory of Attica every year, to burn the houses, and to cut down the olives and vines.¹² The Thracian mercenaries, whom Athens dismissed without pay, with permission to plunder the enemy, sacked the town of Mycalessos.¹³ The

¹ Diod., xi. 65; Paus., ii. 16. 5. ² Thuc., i. 55; cf. i. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 36. 68; v. 116. ⁴ Diod., xii. 82. ⁵ Thuc., iv. 130.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 28. ⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 70; Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 3. 6. ⁸ Thuc., iv. 105.

⁹ Ael., *V. H.*, iii. 22. ¹⁰ Thuc., i. 108. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 101.

¹² *Ibid.*, ii. 21 and *passim*; cf. Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 5. 37; Thuc., vi. 94.

¹³ Thuc., vii. 29.

goods of the conquered, like their persons, belonged to the conquerors. Hieron of Syracuse, having taken Naxos and Catane, drove out the inhabitants and distributed the land to new-comers.¹ The Thebans confiscated the lands of the Platæans and leased them out for ten years to the profit of the State,² and the Athenians gave the Platæans the fields of Scione.³

War, then, was a suspension of all the customs which had created bonds of brotherhood between the Greeks. Nevertheless, the feeling of common nationality was already strong enough for the Greeks to be ashamed, even in war time, to treat other Greeks like barbarians. So Hellenic laws of war grew up. There were still but few written conventions, like that by which the Eubœan cities prohibited the use of missile weapons.⁴ But, though they were only usages, the laws of war none the less created a moral obligation. Thus, all Greeks recognized a sacred and inviolable character in the herald, even if he came from the barbarians. The Spartans incurred the wrath of the gods by slaying the envoys of Darius.⁵ Ambassadors, who had no religious character, did not enjoy the same privilege. In time of peace they were respected, unless they intrigued against the city which received them.⁶ In time of war they might, if not accompanied by heralds, be arrested and executed. In 480 the Peloponnesian ambassadors who went to ask the King of Persia for money and troops were handed over by a Thracian prince to the Athenians, who put them to death.⁷ Ambassadors of neutral powers proceeding to enemy cities were not ill-treated, but were detained on their journey.⁸

Belligerents had to respect the sanctuaries and property of the gods, and the pillage of temples was a sacrilegious act.⁹ In an argument with the Athenians, who had established themselves in the sanctuary of Delion, the Bœotians proclaimed, as a law recognized by all the Greeks, the prohibition against violating sanctuaries, and the Athenians, while claiming that one might occupy them, admitted that one should respect them and not interfere with their ceremonies.¹⁰ It was in obedience to this principle that the

¹ Diod., xi. 49.

⁴ Strabo, x. 1. 12.

⁷ Thuc., ii. 67.

¹⁰ Thuc., iv. 97-8.

² Thuc., iii. 68.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 133-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 32.

⁶ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 4. 22.

⁹ Hdt., vi. 75; ix. 120.

Athenians, while occupying the temple of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse, refrained from laying hands on the offerings, and kept the Syracusan priest as guardian of the treasures of the place.¹ But these rules were not always respected. Pausanias has been able to make a list of the statues torn from temples by conquerors.²

Religious scruples also protected the dead enemy. To mutilate a corpse was regarded as a barbarous practice, unworthy of Greeks.³ The custom was to make a truce to permit the burial of the dead.⁴ The army which was obliged to ask for this truce admitted that it was not master of the field of battle, and thus acknowledged defeat, but only if there was inexpiable hatred between the combatants did the victor reject the petition of the vanquished.⁵

Little by little war became less cruel. Plato, in his *Republic*, would introduce alleviations; he forbids the ravaging of fields and the burning of houses.⁶ These are not the pure speculations of a philosopher. The fighting men of the IVth century prided themselves on their humanity. Agesilaos reminded his soldiers that prisoners were men to be guarded, not criminals to be punished.⁷ When Timotheos took Corcyra he neither banished nor sold anyone, and he even respected the constitution of the city.⁸ Pelopidas and Epaminondas had the glory of never having caused the inhabitants of conquered cities to be sold and never having ordered a massacre after victory.⁹ There seems to have been a faint notion that there was something impious in a war between Greeks; when Agis went to Olympia to offer sacrifice and to pray Zeus for victory, he was not admitted by the Eleians, who told him that there was an ancient custom forbidding the consultation of oracles on the outcome of a war of Greeks against Greeks.¹⁰

Men inevitably reached the point of seeking means to prevent war. Before the Vth century, they sometimes limited hostilities by entrusting the task of deciding victory to champions.¹¹ In the legends a war between two peoples

¹ Paus., x. 28. 6.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 46. 2.

³ Hdt., ix. 79.

⁴ Thuc., iv. 90-102; Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 5. 23-5.

⁵ Diod., xvii. 25. 6. ⁶ Plato, *Rep.*, v. 469B ff.

⁷ Xen., *Ag.*, i. 21; cf. *Hell.*, iv. 3. 20.

⁸ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 4. 64.

⁹ Plut., *Comp. Pel. & Marc.*, 1. ¹⁰ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 2. 22.

¹¹ **XXIX**, s.v. *Monomachia*; **XII**, xv (1902), p. 463.

often ends in a duel between the two leaders.¹ Even in the VIth century, when Sparta and Argos were disputing Thyreatis, the Peloponnesian Amphictiony decided that the difference should be settled by a combat in which 300 warriors of each city should take part.² At Plataea Mardonius asked the Greeks to leave the decision to an equal number of Persians and Lacedaemonians,³ and in 421 the Argives, invoking the precedent of the VIth century, again proposed to the Spartans that the fate of Cynuria should be decided in single combat.⁴ But by the Vth century the Judgment of God was no longer in accordance with modern ideas. The demand of Mardonius was not honoured with a reply, and the Spartans thought the old-fashioned proposal of the Argives ridiculous.

The procedure which gained ground was that of arbitration. The Greeks placed its origin in mythical times, and ascribed to Acrisios, Danae's father, the institution of the first international court of arbitration.⁵ Indeed the gods themselves, it was said, had set the example.⁶ The stories of the most ancient arbitrations, that proposed by the Messenians,⁷ that given by Samos in the dispute of Chalcis and Andros over Acanthos in Chalcidice,⁸ or that given by the Spartans on the claims of Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis,⁹ appear to have no historical value, and to have been invented by writers who could only conceive of the past in terms of the present. The earliest cases which seem certain take us to Greece in Asia. After the Ionian revolt Artaphernes compelled the Greek cities to conclude agreements among themselves with a view to settling disputes by legal and peaceful methods.¹⁰ It was natural that the procedure of arbitration should originate in the most civilized and peaceable region of the Greek world. From there it must have made its way to Greece, but slowly, without doubt. Mardonius was astonished that the Greeks, who spoke the same language, were incapable of settling their differences by diplomatic methods.¹¹ However, in the

¹ The exact theme of the Horatii and Curiacii is referred to a war between Tegea and Pheneos; Plut., *Mor.*, 309D.

² Hdt., i. 82; Paus., ii. 38. 5; x. 9. 12.

³ Hdt., ix. 48.

⁴ Thuc., v. 41.

⁵ Strabo, ix. 3. 7.

⁶ Paus., ii. 1. 6; 15. 5; 30. 6; vii. 1. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 5. 2.

⁸ Plut., *Mor.*, 298A-B.

⁹ Plut., *Sol.*, 10.

¹⁰ Hdt., vi. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vii. 9.

Vth century, the procedure of arbitration came into more general use, and from century to century instances of it became more and more numerous. The Corcyraeans proposed to the Corinthians that they should refer to the decision of a Peloponnesian city or the Delphic Oracle.¹ The Argives invited the Spartans to name an arbiter by common agreement, either a city or an individual, to pronounce on the eternal question of the Cynuria.² In addition to such particular cases, provision was made for permanent arbitration. The Thirty Years' Peace,³ the Peace of Nicias,⁴ and the treaty of 418 between Sparta and Argos⁵ imposed on the signatories the obligation of submitting all their differences to courts of arbitration.

But when, from the IIIrd century onwards, the Greek cities made many such agreements and established a reign of peace guaranteed by law, Greece was no more than the shadow of its old self, and the cities were quite incapable of making war on one another. The fact is that, so long as they were free and strong, the Greek cities found it hard to accept any restriction of their warlike activity, and preferred resort to arms to any pacific procedure. For them the enemy was always the enemy, and with an enemy only a temporary agreement was possible. Armistices had to be renewed every ten days.⁶ Treaties of peace, though they provided for a longer period, none the less retained the character of temporary truces. Athens signed peace with Sparta for five years,⁷ then for thirty years,⁸ and then for fifty years.⁹ The alliances between Elea and Heræa,¹⁰ between Athens and Argos,¹¹ and between the Acarnanians and Ambraciots¹² were concluded for a hundred years. It was quite exceptional to provide for a perpetual alliance, *εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον*, like that which Athens struck with Thesaly in 361.¹³ For everyone knew quite well that these agreements were precarious. They might be given all possible publicity by being posted up in the great sanctuaries,¹⁴ they might be confirmed by solemn oaths renewed from year to year;¹⁵ the fact remained that the signatories were always

¹ Thuc., i. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 112.

¹⁰ CXLVI, no. 27.

¹³ CXLVI, no. 176.

² *Ibid.*, v. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 115.

¹¹ Thuc., v. 47.

¹⁴ Thuc., v. 18; Paus., v. 23. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 78, 140, 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 26; vi. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 18.

¹² *Ibid.*, iii. 114.

¹⁵ Thuc., v. 18.

ready to disown their signature, and the wars began again as soon as new interests came into play. The Thirty Years' Peace lasted fifteen years; the fifty years' peace did not even suspend hostilities between the allies of Athens and those of Sparta.

Eirene was a beneficent deity who deserved altars.¹ She was, like Eunomia and Dice, the daughter of Zeus and Themis.² She had for companions Opora, the goddess of harvests and fruits, and Theoria, the goddess of festivals.³ On her motherly arm she carried the young Plutos.⁴ But unfortunately she too often remained imprisoned behind the heap of rocks which ploughman and vine-dressers had such difficulty in knocking down.⁵ Universal peace was for the Greeks only a beautiful dream, never realized. "It is a law of nature," Plato says, "that between all cities war shall be continuous and everlasting."⁶ With a permanent state of war, how could they have realized national unity?

¹ **XXX**, s.v. *Eirene*.

² Hes., *Theog.*, 901-3; cf. Pind., *Ol.*, xiii. 6-8.

³ Ar., *Peace*, 520-6.

⁴ **XLIX**, fig. 86.

⁵ Ar., *Peace*, 450-520.

⁶ Plato, *Laws*, i. 625E.

CHAPTER III

NATIONAL UNION

1. THE PERSIAN DANGER

EXPOSURE to common danger, and afterwards the memory of great things accomplished together—by these national feeling is usually strengthened and exalted. It was when facing the enemy that the Greeks were to find that they were one same people. Since Cyrus, after overcoming Lydia, had conquered the Greek cities of the seaboard, the Great King had had Hellenes among his subjects. Since Darius, after his Scythian campaign, had annexed Thrace and placed Macedonia under his protectorate, the Persian empire had bordered on European Greece. That vast territory, rich in gold and in men, seemed destined to absorb the little Greek states without difficulty. From then onwards the Greeks saw the danger close at hand, and felt that it was serious.

But what exactly had Greece to fear? If we trusted the Greek stories we should picture the Persians as barbarians. Herodotos, it is true, uses this term only in the sense of foreigners of non-Greek speech, but when he describes the army of Xerxes, that host which, according to him, contained many men and few soldiers,¹ he delights in showing us the incongruous costumes and armament of the most outlandish peoples, the Thracians with fox-skins on their heads,² and the troops from Cholcis in their wooden helmets,³ and the Ethiopians with their bodies painted white and vermillion, clad in skins of lions and leopards and waving javelins tipped with antelopes' horns.⁴ For him they were clearly a horde of savages marching against a civilized nation.

The reality was very different. The Persians of Darius and Xerxes were by no means barbarians; their civilization,

¹ Hdt., vii. 210.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 69.

different though it was, was not inferior to that of Greece in brilliance or in moral worth. In material things the Persians had borrowed much from their neighbours,¹ but they had brought their own religion and lofty beliefs, on which the purest morality was based, and their whole conduct was inspired by this morality, which made them quite unlike the other peoples of the East. It was more in astonishment than in admiration that the Greeks noted the first principle of Persian education—to teach the child not to tell lies. Every good action, every useful piece of work was for the Persians a true act of piety, advancing the law of Ormuzd more than a hundred sacrifices. Deeds of destruction and death, on the other hand, made man the guilty accomplice of the spirit of evil. Neither wars nor conquests could make them forget their religious law. While the kings of Egypt and Assyria left only ruin and devastation in their wake, the kings of Persia tried to conduct war with moderation, and treated the conquered with mildness and benevolence, allowing them to keep their religion, their laws, and even their national chiefs. With the Assyrian reliefs which show us soldiers cutting the trees of invaded countries to the ground we must contrast the Greek inscription translated from a letter in which Darius congratulated a satrap of Asia Minor on having acclimatized new species of trees in his province.² Thus Persian rule was mild and beneficent for the subject peoples, to whom it brought peace and prosperity.

Towards the Greeks in particular the Persians had none of the race-hatred which makes inexpiable wars. The relations between Greeks and Persians were continuous and amicable. Susa was the meeting-place of many Greeks. Political exiles came there to seek refuge and to beg the Great King for assistance. Demaratos the Spartan,³ Hippias the Athenian,⁴ and Scythes, the tyrant of Zancle,⁵ were received with favour by Darius. The Greek mercenaries, who did not hesitate to follow Pharaoh in Upper Egypt,⁶ or, like Alcæos' brother, to serve in the Babylonian army,⁷ also came and offered their services to the satraps or the King. Cambyses

¹ Hdt., i. 134.

³ Hdt., vi. 70.

⁶ CXXVII, p. 82.

² XI, xiii (1889), pp. 529 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 96.

⁷ Alcæos, fr. 67-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 24.

took many Greeks with him on his expedition into Egypt,¹ and the time was near when the Persians would undertake no expedition without Greek troops.² Greek craftsmen and artists, like Telephanes of Phocæa,³ worked on the royal palaces. The low reliefs of the time of Darius and Xerxes present in the movement of the drapery a workmanship and style which betray a Greek hand.⁴ Dancers and mountebanks performed at entertainments.⁵ Greek doctors were in especial demand. Democedes, for whose services the Greek cities had contended, whom Polycrates had attached to himself at an enormous price, was sent, after the death of the tyrant, to the court of Darius, and there acquired great renown by curing Queen Atossa of a tumour on the breast.⁶ Artaxerxes likewise bestowed his confidence on Greek doctors, such as Ctesias and Polycritus of Mende.⁷ Lastly, Greek influence also came in through the Greek women, whose beauty and wit caused them to be sought out for the harems of the King and great men. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the most beautiful girls in the Greek cities were carried off and sent to the King.⁸ A military officer named Artabanus kept a captive woman from Eretria by him;⁹ a great lord named Pharandates took to the army a Greek woman whom he had carried off from Cos.¹⁰ The most celebrated of these concubines was Milto of Phocæa. Born of free parents, she had received a brilliant education, and she became the favourite of Cyrus the Younger, who was not afraid of comparing her to Aspasia. After the battle of Cunaxa she passed into the harem of Artaxerxes, mixed herself up in palace intrigues and the rivalry of Artaxerxes and his son Darius, and ended as a chaste priestess of the goddess Anaitis.¹¹

Thus there was no irreducible opposition between Persian and Greek civilization. The Persians could have treated a people with which they had had none but good relations with as much consideration as they habitually showed their subjects. In these circumstances, they might believe that

¹ Hdt., iii. 139.

³ Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv. 68.

⁵ Plut., *Artax.*, 21.

⁷ Plut., *Artax.*, 21.

⁹ Plut., *Them.*, 27.

¹⁰ Hdt., ix. 76; cf. Plut., *Them.*, 26; Xen., *Anab.*, i. 10. 3.

¹¹ Xen., *Anab.*, i. 10. 2; Plut., *Per.*, 24; *Artax.*, 26-7.

² Xen., *Cyr.*, viii. 8. 26.

⁴ **XLVII**, v, p. 889.

⁶ Hdt., iii. 129-38.

⁸ Hdt., vi. 32.

the Greek states would accept their protectorate without aversion ; the Greek cities of Asia had already been brought into the empire—by force, it was true, but without their municipal life or their economic activity being disturbed by the conqueror. Like them, European Greece might have pursued its destinies under the suzerainty of the Great King.

Yet the Persians were to meet with invincible resistance. The reason was that there was an absolute incompatibility between the two forms of government, Oriental monarchy and Greek commonwealth. Whether aristocratic or democratic, the Greek city governed itself. The Greek was proud of being free and obeying the law alone.¹ It was for freedom and national independence that the Greeks were to fight. The conflict was waged for ideas, and owed to this fact its peculiar greatness. But everybody was not capable of passion for an ideal. If there were Greeks less sensitive to pure ideas, they would accept Persian domination, which was not unbearable in material things. The spirit of enthusiasm would not be unanimous, as if it had been a matter of life and death for all.

So the Persians would find supporters in Greece. First, there were the tyrants. In Greece the tyrants, attacked everywhere by Sparta, had been driven out ; in Asia the Persians maintained them and governed through them. When the Greek leaders who were guarding the bridge built by Darius over the Danube discussed the project of breaking it, Histiaeos of Miletos dissuaded them by the argument that the tyrants owed their authority to Persia, and that if Darius were removed all the cities would hasten to establish democracy.² It was not surprising that Hippias counted on the King to restore his power in Athens. Secondly, in districts where a landed aristocracy was dominant, and the majority of the population, tilling the soil subject to the great landlords, had little part in public affairs, the Persians could hope for an understanding with the aristocrats, whose power they would guarantee. The countries of northern and central Greece, less advanced in civilization, would be more ready to come to terms with the Great King. Only those cities which had reached their full development, in which civic sense and patriotism had attained their full strength,

¹ Hdt., vii. 104 ; cf. iii. 80.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 137.

would make a stand without weakening—Sparta and Athens.

2. THE FIRST PERSIAN WAR

So national unity was not at once realized on the approach of the enemy. The Persians profited by the discords of parties and the jealousies of cities. Only by degrees was union imposed on all, because it was by degrees that the danger grew serious and came to threaten all the Greeks.

At the beginning, the conflict did not seem likely to affect the whole of the Greek world. The revolt of the Ionian cities against Persian rule in 499 was only a local incident. It was due less to a national movement than to the personal ambitions and intrigues of the tyrants of Miletos, Histiaëos and Aristagoras.¹ The Ionians sought allies in European Greece. Aristagoras came himself to Sparta to ask for help.² The Spartans were not opposed on principle to all distant expeditions. They had already had similar requests from Croesus³ and from the Asiatic Greeks on the approach of Cyrus,⁴ and they would have intervened if events had not advanced so rapidly as to render any action useless. They had, in co-operation with the Corinthians, fought against Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.⁵ But they rejected the request of Aristagoras, deeming, no doubt, that the revolt was purely a local matter, to be settled between the King and the Ionian tyrants, his agents of yesterday, his rivals of to-day. The appeal of the rebels was answered only by Athens, which claimed kinship with the Ionians, and by Eretria, in return for the services done her formerly by Miletos in her war against Chalcis.⁶ Even the help which they sent did not amount to much. The twenty ships of Athens⁷ and the five ships of Eretria⁸ made a poor show beside the hundred vessels manned by Chios.⁹ But the land troops must at least have been a valuable reinforcement to the Ionian contingents, which were of indifferent military worth. It was on the Athenians and Eretrians that Darius laid the responsibility for the Greek raid on Sardis.¹⁰ But the taking of Sardis was a success which led nowhere; the

¹ Hdt., v. 30-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 152.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 97.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 105.

² *Ibid.*, v. 49-51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 46-8, 54-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 99.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi. 8, 15.

Greeks, who had not managed to take the citadel, withdrew precipitately, and were caught up and beaten by the Persian forces at Ephesos. The Athenians threw up their hand and returned to Greece.¹ The Ionians, left to themselves, did not feel capable of resisting the Persian army, and decided to continue the war on sea.² But they were undone by their softness and disunion. Too fond of their comfort and their rest, they refused to make the efforts demanded of them by their leader, Dionysios of Phocæa.³ At the battle of Lade (494) the Samians abandoned the fight, the Lesbians and most of the Ionians did the same, and, in spite of the resistance of the Chians, the Persians, who were, moreover, far superior in numbers,⁴ were victorious.⁵ When the Ionian fleet was destroyed, it was easy for the Persians to reduce the revolted cities.

The Ionian revolt, easily suppressed, seemed to be an episode without consequences. Yet it was a prelude to the Persian Wars. For one thing, it was the immediate cause of the projects of Darius, who considered himself provoked by the Greeks of Europe, and wanted to take vengeance on Athens and Eretria. For another, the burning of Sardis gave the struggle an implacable character; Darius answered it by the destruction of Miletos. The fate of the cities of Asia was a warning to all the Greek cities.

However, when the menace became more definite with the expedition of Mardonius in Thrace and the appearance of the heralds of Darius, demanding from the Greek cities the homage of earth and water, there was little agreement among all the cities. For Darius seems to have meant merely to establish his suzerainty by means of the tyrants, and the expedition, which was led by sea by Datis and Artaphernes, really threatened the maritime cities alone, and in particular those against which the King's anger was directed, Athens and Eretria. All the islanders, who feared the Persian fleet, made their submission, and even several peoples of the mainland did the same.⁶ In Athens the party of the tyrants hoped for the restoration of Hippias, who accompanied the Persian army and helped it with his counsel,⁷ and the democratic party of the Alcmaeonids perhaps thought of asking

¹ Hdt., v. 101-3.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 13-15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 102.

the Persians for the support which the aristocratic party obtained from the Spartans.¹ At Eretria, while some thought of taking the road of exile, as the Phocæans had done, the others were quite ready to surrender, and eventually two aristocrats opened the city gates to the enemy.²

In spite of the approach of the enemy, therefore, national union had not been effected, and Athens found that she had to bear the brunt alone ; at Marathon the Athenian troops had only the small contingent of Platæa at their side. As a military engagement, the battle of Marathon (490) was a small affair. The Athenians, established in a narrow pass in which a small force was sufficient to stop a numerous army, remained several days on the defensive. It was doubtless when he saw the Persians re-embarking that Miltiades decided on the offensive and made a rush attack. The Athenian hoplites charged the lighter-armed enemy troops, overthrew the wings, where the weaker bodies were, and closed on the centre, which broke in its turn. The Persian cavalry, for whom the field of Marathon had been especially chosen,³ did not take part. Their horses had probably already been re-embarked on the transports.⁴ The success was far from being decisive ; the Persian army, despite serious losses, was not annihilated ; it was able to take the sea again, and the fleet sailed round and cruised off Phaleron. Yet the battle of Marathon was sufficient to end the war. The Athenians, who were expecting another landing and a direct attack on their city, were surprised to see the Persian fleet turn about and set sail for Asia once more. For Marathon had been a great moral victory ; a handful of citizens, resolved to win or die, had stood up against the huge Persian army and made it retire. The Athenians, encouraged by success, eagerly prepared for further victories ; the Persians, stupefied at their failure, abandoned all initiative and accepted the defeat. Marathon had saved Greece.

What had been the attitude of Sparta ? Like the Athenians, the Spartans had rejected the Persian proposals, and the heralds of Darius had even been put to death.⁵ Sparta had promised to assist Athens, and had decided to send 2,000

¹ Hdt., vi. 115.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 102.

⁴ For the tradition of the re-embarkation of at least part of the army, see Plut., *Mor.*, 862D.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 133-7.

men. But, detained by religious scruples, the troops had not dared to start before the full moon, so that they reached Athens the day after the battle.¹ When, later, the breach between Sparta and Athens was complete, the Athenians maintained that the Spartans, out of jealousy of Athens, had sought for pretexts to delay their intervention. Even the pro-Spartan Plato, who finds an excuse in the war in which Sparta was involved with Messenia, is compelled to allude to "the other obstacles which they pleaded, regarding which we know nothing certain."² But this Athenian tradition had no solid foundation. The Spartans could not foresee the day the battle was to be, and ingeniously arrange their march accordingly; and the Spartan contingent arrived in time enough to have reinforced the Athenian troops, hurriedly brought back, supposing the Persians had landed at Phaleron, as was expected. Herodotos, who does not seem to know the anti-Spartan tradition, notes, on the contrary, the haste of the Spartans, who covered the distance from Sparta to Athens in three days.³ What was the good of delaying departure if they had afterwards to double their stages? The fact was, Sparta and Athens were agreed to fight; fortune favoured the Athenians, reserving to them the danger of the battle and the glory of the victory.

3. THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR

Darius on his death left to his son Xerxes the task of avenging his defeat. The second Persian War was a much more formidable trial for Greece, and it appeared as such from the beginning. First, the preparations of Xerxes were on a vast scale. Even if we regard the figure of three million men, consecrated by Greek tradition,⁴ as exaggerated, even if we allow for the fact that the army was a mob of peoples without cohesion or discipline,⁵ even when we note the defects mentioned by Herodotos himself, the garments unsuited for fighting, the too light armament,⁶ still the Persian army seemed, by its mere weight, capable of crushing the small Greek armies. The Greeks made their greatest effort at

¹ Hdt., vi. 106, 120.

² Hdt., vi. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 210.

⁴ Plato, *Laws*, iii. 698E.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 185, 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii. 211; ix. 61-2.

Platæa, where they put 110,000 men in the field.¹ Moreover, the war was different in character. The Great King's object was no longer to establish his protectorate under the cover of the tyrants, but to wreak vengeance for the humiliation inflicted on his father. So the war was waged with ferocity. In Phocis the Persians, egged on, incidentally, by their Thessalian allies, violated women, cut down trees, and fired cities and temples.² Thespiæ and Platæa, on the denunciation of the Thebans, were razed to the ground.³ When Athens was taken it was sacked and given to the flames; only the few houses where the Persian leaders were billeted were spared.⁴ Although Xerxes declared that he was marching against Athens alone, all Greece was threatened.⁵ While the fleet followed the coasts, the army, travelling overland, came in by the north, and prepared to occupy the whole country. Never had the danger been greater, nor union more necessary.

Within the cities Xerxes still hoped to find allies. The Peisistratids and the Aleuads of Thessaly had worked hard to persuade him to undertake the war.⁶ As the event proved, traitors were not lacking; the Thebans advised Mardonius to buy the political leaders, in order to sow division among the Greeks.⁷ In most cities, however, parties united before the enemy. Athens set the example; as soon as the expedition was announced, all statesmen who had been banished by ostracism were recalled,⁸ and Aristides worked loyally with Themistocles.

The harmony achieved within the cities was less easy to establish between the cities. The men who, in Herodotos' words,⁹ were of the best will towards Greece endeavoured to bring about union. United by oath against Persia,¹⁰ they created a federal organization for the national defence, in the form of a council on the Isthmus of Corinth, in which the representatives of the cities, the "councillors of Hellas,"¹¹ deliberated. It was the Council of the Isthmus which issued the appeal to concord, called upon enemy cities to be reconciled and to march together against the invader, and sent ambassadors all over the Greek world, to Corcyra, to Crete,

¹ Hdt., ix. 30.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 32-3.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 50.

⁴ Thuc., i. 89. 3.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ix. 2.

⁸ Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 22.

⁹ Hdt., vii. 145, 172.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii. 148.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vii. 172.

and even to Syracuse.¹ Yet, in spite of the danger, in spite of the efforts of patriots, Greece remained divided. Indeed, Greeks served in the army and fleet of the Great King.

There were, first, the Asiatic Greeks, who were subjects of the Persian empire. No doubt they could not be very ardent upholders of the Persian cause.² Yet, in spite of summons to desert,³ they did not abandon their post. Some Ionians, at Salamis, fought feebly, but as a whole they did their duty.⁴ The Asiatic Greeks would not desert until after the Persian defeat, when the victorious Greek navy was cruising along the coasts of Asia Minor.

The islanders, who had made their submission in the first war, were divided into two camps. Andros, Tenos, and Paros were for the Persians,⁵ Cythnos, Ceos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Ægina, and Eubœa for the Greeks.⁶ Moreover, there was not complete unanimity within the cities. A ship of Tenos brought intelligence to Themistocles just before Salamis,⁷ and a ship of Lemnos went over to the Greeks at the battle of Artemision;⁸ the four ships which Naxos sent to join the Persian fleet were taken by one of their commanders into the Greek ranks.⁹ The cities of Crete, on a discouraging response from the Oracle of Delphi, refused to take part in the war;¹⁰ if there were Cretan archers in the Greek army,¹¹ they were probably mercenaries.

Northern and central Greece, a land of farmers, where the landed aristocracy ruled and city life was still rudimentary, was ready to accept Persian domination. The Thessalians seem to have hesitated, but, after the retreat of the Greek troops had uncovered their country, they surrendered and became faithful allies to the King.¹² They acted as guides to the Persian army across Æte, and directed its vengeance against the peoples of Phocis.¹³ Like the Thessalians, the neighbouring peoples, Dolopians, Magnetes, Achæans of Phthiotis, Perrhæbi, Ænianians, and Dorians of Parnassos, marched with the Persians.¹⁴ The Locrians tried to resist; the whole army of Opus was at Thermopylæ,¹⁵ but after the

¹ Hdt., vii. 145.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 66, 82, 111-12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, viii. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, viii. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii. 46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii. 169.

¹¹ Ctes., *Pers.*, 26.

¹² Hdt., vii. 172-4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, viii. 31-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 132; viii. 66; ix. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 203.

defeat of Leonidas they were obliged to submit and to join the Persian army.¹ It was the same with the Phocians ; out of hate of the Thessalians as much as from Hellenic patriotism, they had refused to adopt the Persian cause.² They sent a contingent to Thermopylæ,³ and, even when defeated, refused to answer the summons of the Thessalians.⁴ But after their country had been ravaged they were forced to supply the Persian army with soldiers, who took part in the battle of Platæa.⁵ All those, at least, who could, fled into the mountains and conducted a war of skirmishes against the troops of Mardonius.⁶

Like Thessaly, Bœotia made common cause with Persia. Just as the Aleuads of Larissa had solicited the intervention of the Great King, so the aristocrats of Thebes, in the hope of strengthening their position, kept down the popular classes, who wanted to fight, and called on the foreigner.⁷ From the beginning the Bœotians were suspected of pro-Persianism,⁸ and it was not considered safe to send the troops destined for Tempe through their country.⁹ Leonidas took 400 Thebans to Thermopylæ, less as auxiliaries than as hostages, and as soon as the defeat of the Greeks was beyond doubt the Theban contingent, which was fighting against its will, hastened to surrender.¹⁰ The Bœotians gave proof of their devotion to the King. A Bœotian, named Salganeus, piloted the Persian fleet in the straits between Eubœa and Greece,¹¹ the Theban infantry put up the most stubborn resistance at Platæa, and the Theban cavalry covered the retreat of the beaten army.¹² Alone of all the Bœotians, the Thespians and Platæans fought in the ranks of the Greeks.¹³

In the Peloponnese all the peoples were allies of Sparta. So, round Sparta, Arcadians, Eleians, the citizens of Mycenæ, Tiryns, Epidauros, Phlius, Trœzen, Hermione, and Sicyon, and the peoples of the Isthmus, Corinthians and Megarians, all, apart from some individual defaulters, did their duty. But there was one people which, throughout the whole VIth century, had striven against Sparta—Argos. The hate which the Argives cherished for their rivals was stronger than

¹ Hdt., vii. 132 ; viii. 66 ; ix. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vii. 173.

¹² Hdt., ix. 67–8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 30–1.

⁷ Thuc., iii. 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii. 205, 222, 233.

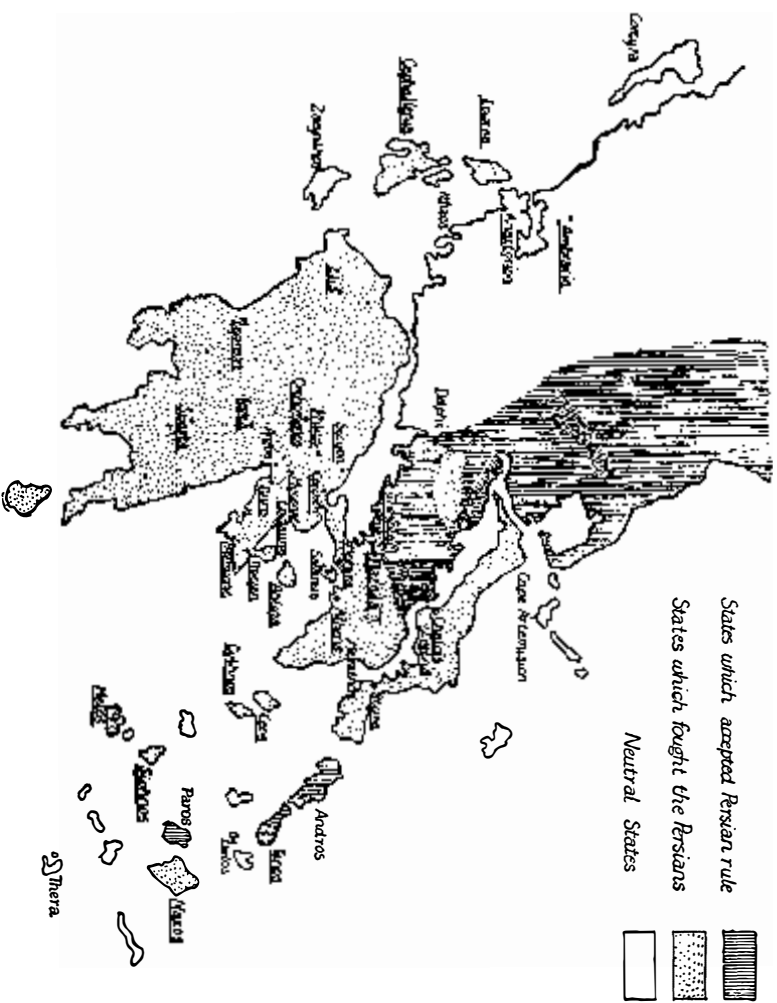
¹³ *Ibid.*, vii. 132, 222 ; viii. 66.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 17–18, 31.

⁸ Hdt., vii. 205.

¹¹ Strabo, ix. 2. 9.



GREECE AT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WARS
 The cities inscribed on the offering from Plataea at Delphi are underlined.

Hellenic patriotism. When the assembly of the Isthmus appealed to them, they declared themselves ready to sign a truce with Sparta and to send contingents to the confederate army, but they would not be under the command of a Spartan, and demanded that they should share the command of all the forces with Sparta. A refusal was to be expected from the Spartans; then the Argives, declaring that they would sooner obey barbarians than Lacedæmonians, refused to co-operate. The abstention of the Argives was regarded with suspicion; they were accused of having made an agreement with Xerxes and of having prepared for their refusal by unacceptable proposals,¹ and they were even taxed with treachery, for having warned Mardonius of the departure of the army of Pausanias.²

Like Greece Proper, outer Greece was summoned to the rescue of Hellenism. Since the expeditions of Megabyzus and Mardonius, who had completed the occupation of Thrace and Macedon under Darius, the Greek cities in these regions, like those in Asia, had been subject to the Great King. Xerxes obtained from them provisions, soldiers, and ships. But after Salamis the cities of Chalcidice rose. Olynthos was taken and severely chastised,³ but Potidæa resisted victoriously,⁴ and sent three hundred hoplites to fight at Plataea by the side of the troops of Corinth, her mother city.⁵ From the Adriatic, help was sent to the fleet and the army by Cephallenia, Leucas, Anactorion, and Ambracia.⁶ But the most powerful city, Corcyra, held aloof.⁷ At the appeal of the congress of the Isthmus, she promised troops and fitted a fleet, but her ships, on the plea of being delayed by contrary winds off the west coast of the Peloponnese, waited for the Greek victory before joining the confederates.

Western Greece was represented only by one ship of Croton, which fought at Salamis.⁸ The congress of the Isthmus had not omitted to ask for the help of the great state of the west, Syracuse, but the embassy sent to Gelon did not obtain a favourable answer. To explain the attitude of Gelon, there were a thousand stories going about Greece, and Herodotos has collected some from various sources.⁹

¹ Hdt., vii. 148-52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 126-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 168; Thuc., i. 32.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 28.

⁸ Hdt., viii. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, viii. 47; ix. 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vii. 157-66.

According to the least favourable tradition, Gelon promised considerable assistance, on condition that he held the chief command, and, on the refusal of the Spartans and the Athenians, who both felt the same aversion for a tyrant, he was content to watch events, ready to declare for the King if victory fell to the Persians. But a tradition which was favourable to Gelon attributed his abstention to the difficulties which the attacks of the Carthaginians were causing him. This explanation soon became the official version. Men would not admit that the Greeks of the west had shown themselves indifferent to the fate of Hellenism. A formal alliance between the Persians and Carthaginians was supposed to have existed,¹ and the war between Gelon and Carthage was made an episode of the great struggle which, all over the Mediterranean, had brought all Greeks into conflict with all barbarians. By one of those synchronisms in which the ingenious spirit of the Greek delighted, the Battle of Himera was dated on the same day as the Battle of Salamis.² On the tripods offered at Delphi by the tyrants of Syracuse, their victory was represented as aid brought to Greece,³ and Pindar joins Salamis, Plataea, and Himera in the same eulogy.⁴

Thus, on the eve of the invasion, Greece was far from being united. Many peoples stood aloof from the conflict, or even made common cause with the enemy. Even the gods seemed to abandon the national cause. The sanctuary of Delphi was too dependent on the peoples of northern Greece to dissociate itself from their policy; like them, and also from fear of looting, the Pythia proceeded to Medize. Her discouraging responses advised resignation; Argives,⁵ Cretans,⁶ Spartans,⁷ Athenians,⁸ all heard the same pessimistic voice. After the victory, the priests of Delphi were embarrassed by the inglorious attitude of the Oracle. They gave themselves a part in the struggle by inventing a Persian attack on the sanctuary and the miraculous intervention of the god himself,⁹ and they showed their zeal by causing the Amphictions to set a price on the head of the traitor Ephialtes.¹⁰ The Greeks

¹ Diod., xi. 1; Schol. on Pind., *Pyth.*, i. 146; tradition rejected by Arist., *Poet.*, 23. 1459A. ² Hdt., vii. 166. ³ **CXXIX**, pp. 184 ff.

⁴ Pind., *Pyth.*, i. 75-80.

⁵ Hdt., vii. 148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii. 169.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 220.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vii. 140-1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii. 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii. 213.

appeared to forget the past, and the trophies of victory rose at Delphi as at Olympia, but the eclipse of the Delphic sanctuary in the period following the Persian Wars was assuredly the consequence of Apollo's momentary desertion of the national cause.

Even among those Greeks whom the task of defence brought together, harmony was precarious, and unanimity of endeavour was jeopardized by the play of private interests. The question of the command awoke the jealousy of the cities. It seemed natural to confer it on Sparta, which was considered the first military power in Greece. But, rather than obey Sparta, Argos preferred to betray the Greek cause. The Athenians, who by themselves furnished more than half the fleet, might have claimed the direction of operations by sea, and, from the beginning, certain peoples thought of giving it to them. But the majority of the allies were in favour of a single command on land and sea, and, in order not to compromise the agreement, Athens effaced herself before Sparta.¹ Even the choice of Sparta left room for other rivalries; on the eve of Plataea the Tegeans and Athenians disputed the command of the left wing.²

Even more than the command, the plan of campaign gave rise to heated arguments. Most of the cities thought only of defending their own territory, and were ready to call their troops back, at the risk of abandoning to the enemy the peoples which were first exposed to the invasion. The original decision had been, to hold the Vale of Tempe; but was there any intention of a serious defence of Thessaly, a country which was scarcely regarded as belonging to true Greece? After a few days the order to withdraw was given. This retreat cost the Greek cause the support of the Thes-salians.³

The true line of defence was marked, at the entrance of central Greece, by the mountains which closed the valley of the Spercheios on the south. It was here that the Council of the Isthmus decided to organize resistance, the land army holding the pass of Thermopylae, and the fleet holding the straits between Euboea and the mainland.⁴ This line was not abandoned, but it was forced by the Persians. The cause

¹ Hdt., viii, 2-3.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 26-8.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 172-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 175,

was the unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to hold the line ; from now onwards, their idea was to remain on the defensive and to cover the Peloponnese by fortifying the Isthmus of Corinth. At Thermopylæ the allies of Sparta pressed Leonidas to fall back and to defend the Isthmus.¹ This was also the Spartan theory. Sparta did not wish to make the required effort in central Greece, for she kept the bulk of her forces for her own defence. At Thermopylæ there were only 1,000 Laonians and 300 Spartiates,² whereas at Plataea Sparta was able to put into the field 5,000 citizens, 5,000 Perioeci, and 35,000 Helots.³ The treachery of Ephialtes and the heedless retreat of the Phocians surrendered the passage ; the death of Leonidas was heroic, but useless, since the roads into Greece were open. The situation was the same on the sea. There, too, the Spartans wanted to fall back. The Eubœans, seeing themselves abandoned, only prevented an immediate retreat, it was said, by buying the Spartan and Corinthian admirals.⁴ The battle engaged at Cape Artemision was a victory for the Greeks, but the Greek fleet was sorely tried, and, since the land road was forced, it could do nothing but fall back itself.

The measure was big with consequences. Instead of holding in Bœotia, the Peloponnesians returned all the way to the Isthmus, and there proceeded to build a wall, behind which they hoped to check the invasion.⁵ This meant abandoning the whole of central Greece to the Persians ; Phocis was laid waste, and Bœotia joined the enemy. Above all, it meant sacrificing Athens, Athens which in the first war had saved Greece all alone. Without losing courage, the Athenians sent the old men, women, and children to Ægina, and all the fit men embarked on the fleet. The city was taken and burnt, the Acropolis was stormed, its defenders were massacred, and the temples and offerings were plundered.

For the Athenians nothing remained but war by sea. But the Spartans hesitated ; more sure of themselves on land than on sea, and counting on the fortifications of the Isthmus, they did not want to risk a naval battle. As at Artemision,

¹ Hdt., vii. 207.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 202 ; Diod., ix. 4.

³ Hdt., ix. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 4-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 40, 72 ; Thuc., i. 69. 5.

Eurybiadas gave the order to retire. It required the energy and cunning of Themistocles to force an engagement. Xerxes, warned by Themistocles, hoped to take the Greek fleet as in a net ; but the Persian ships, crowded together in the strait between Salamis and Attica, lost the advantage of numbers, and the seamanship and courage of the Greeks, and of the Athenians and Æginetans in particular,¹ made the Battle of Salamis a splendid victory for the Greeks. For the second time, Greece was saved, and, for the second time, by the energy and courage of the Athenians. Losing heart, like Datis after Marathon, Xerxes hurried back to Persia, defeated.

But the war was not over. The Persian army, with Mardonius, held central Greece. The Peloponnesians no longer seemed in a hurry to make an end. Without, perhaps, meriting the accusation of being jealous of the success of the Athenians, they adhered to their selfish programme of staying in the Peloponnese behind the wall of the Isthmus. Mardonius might invade Attica a second time and sack Athens again. It needed another appeal of the Athenians, with a description of the advantages offered by the emissaries of Mardonius in exchange for a separate peace, to awaken in Sparta a sentiment of Hellenic solidarity. It was at last decided to take the offensive, and it was the whole forces of Greece, under the command of the King of Sparta, Pausanias, which marched out against the army of Mardonius. The contingents concentrated at Platæa amounted to about 110,000 men. The Spartans held the first place, with 10,000 combatants, exclusive of Helots, but next to them came the Athenians, with 8,000 hoplites, under the command of Aristides.² The Spartans held the right wing, the Athenians the left ; both covered themselves with glory, the Spartans in the battle and the Athenians in the assault and capture of Mardonius' camp. The Battle of Platæa was the complement of that of Salamis. After the fleet, the army of Persia was defeated. Its remnants recrossed the Hellespont with great difficulty. After the taking of Sestos, not a Persian remained in Europe.

¹ Pind., *Isth.*, iv. 61.

² Hdt., ix. 28.

4. ATHENS AND SPARTA AT THE END OF THE PERSIAN WARS

Never were the Greeks nearer achieving national unity than in the days following Salamis and Platæa. They thought and acted in common. First, they punished, as they had resolved,¹ those who had betrayed the Hellenic cause. Thebes was taken and the Thebans who had brought about the alliance with the King were put to death.² Themistocles levied contributions from the islands which had aided the enemy.³ Then all united to thank the gods. At Delphi an Apollo was set up to commemorate the naval victories of Artemision and Salamis;⁴ the tithe of the booty of Platæa made it possible to erect a Poseidon in the sanctuary of the Isthmus,⁵ a Zeus, from the hand of Anaxagoras of Ægina, at Olympia,⁶ and a tripod at Delphi.⁷ The offering was made in the name of all the Greeks who had taken part in the conflict. Concord was such that the tripod at Delphi and the base at Olympia were even inscribed with the name of the Tenians, in memory of the one ship of Tenos which, on the morning of Salamis, had left the Persian fleet to bring information to the Greeks.⁸

Yet this harmony was transitory. As soon as the danger was gone, the selfish, jealous policy of the cities reappeared. When European Greece was delivered, the war had been continued on the sea for the deliverance of the Greeks of Asia. These naval expeditions, which were of far less interest to the Peloponnesians, were still led by Spartan chiefs, but they brought Athens into more and more prominence, as a naval power, while she naturally gathered round herself her brothers in speech, the Ionians of the isles and Asia. The pride and brutality of the King of Sparta, Pausanias, and the suspicions with which his relations with the Great King were justly regarded, so irritated the Ionians that at the siege of Byzantion they refused to obey him, and transferred the command to the Athenian leaders. Sparta recalled Pausanias and replaced him by another chief, but in vain; the allies adhered to their decision, and Sparta had

¹ Hdt., vii. 132.² *Ibid.*, ix. 86-8.³ *Ibid.*, viii. 111-12.⁴ Paus., x. 14. 5.⁵ Hdt., ix. 81.⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 81; Paus., v. 23. 1-2.⁷ Hdt., ix. 81; Paus., x. 13. 9; **III**, 70; **XVI**, i (1886), p. 176.⁸ Hdt., viii. 82.

to give up the command. The agreement concluded at Byzantion between Athens and the Ionians led to the formation of a league of the maritime cities to carry on the war and to secure the independence of the Greeks of Asia. This was a victory and a real increase of power for Athens, which directed the confederacy.

It was at the same time the effacement—which, moreover, was intentional—of Sparta. The Spartan government had never liked distant expeditions, which enabled leaders to escape from the direct supervision of the city, and brought them into contact with peoples and civilizations too alien to the rigid virtues of Sparta. They had just seen Pausanias, intoxicated by his victories, adopting the luxurious manners and despotic airs of an Eastern satrap, and allowing himself to be bought by the King of Persia, who promised him, with the hand of one of his daughters, the command of Greece, which should be reduced to a satrapy. The treason of Pausanias was punished with death. But Sparta, to save her kings and generals from temptations which they appeared unable to resist, thenceforth rejected any policy which should involve distant campaigns, and left the management of the national war against the Persians to Athens.

Sparta could not thus abdicate without resentment and jealousy. It had been disagreeable enough for the Spartans to see Athens rising rapidly from her ruins and rebuilding her walls. Still more painful to them was the sight of an Athens full of glory, obeyed by all and already, through the Confederacy of Delos, mistress of the Ægean Sea. Sparta responded to the friendly advances of Athens with a bad grace. In 464, when Cimon, the supporter of a close alliance between the two cities, caused Athenian troops to be sent to help the Spartans to put down the Helot revolt, the Spartans, humiliated by this intervention, sent the Athenian contingent back. The affront was keenly resented in Athens; Cimon was ostracized and the anti-Laconian party regained the upper hand. The incessant quarrels of the Greek peoples led, through the play of alliances, to war between Sparta and Athens. The Athenians, defeated at Tanagra, recalled Cimon, who negotiated a five years' truce.

Athens could then resume the national struggle against Persia, and, thanks to the victorious campaigns of Cimon in

Asiatic waters, brought the Persian Wars to an end. Whether they signed a formal treaty or not, the Persians renounced any attempt against the independence of the Greeks of Asia, and kept their army and fleet at a distance from Asia Minor. But after the death of Cimon war broke out again between Sparta and Athens; after an indecisive struggle, the two cities decided to conclude a truce of thirty years.

5. THE PAN-HELLENIC POLICY OF PERICLES

Athens stood out as the first city in Greece. When Herodotus declares that the Athenians saved Greece,¹ when Pindar sings "the mighty city, her brow wreathed with violets, glorious Athens, rampart of Greece, a city illustrious and truly divine,"² they do no more than render the thought of all honest Greeks. Marathon and Salamis, essentially Athenian victories, had on two occasions checked the invasion, and they had given the Athenians the consciousness of their worth and strength. Legitimate pride inspired the Athenians with the wish to attempt great things. Already an artistic and literary capital and a centre of commercial and industrial life, Athens might aspire to be the political capital of Greece and to realize, under her direction and in her own interest, national union. Already her rule of the sea was undisputed. The Delian Confederacy had become an Athenian empire, and the Athenian navies policed the seas and enforced the respect of the Persians. In her wars against Sparta, Athens wanted still more—to extend to the cities of the mainland the sway which she held over the maritime cities. But the Thirty Years' Truce brought a halt, and established a kind of partition of the Greek world. Athens kept her maritime empire, but she refrained from any interference in the affairs of the mainland and allowed Sparta, her equal, to command the Peloponnesians.

This wise and moderate compromise seems to have been the work of Pericles, whose policy triumphed definitely in 445 with the ostracism of Thucydides son of Melesias, the chief of the aristocratic party. From 444 to 431 Pericles was master of Athens, both through his personal ascendancy and through the authority legally conferred on him by the office

¹ Hdt., vii. 139.

² Pind., fr. 47.

of Strategos, which was renewed every year. He was undeniably the greatest statesman Greece ever had. The pupil of Anaxagoras, who had no passion but the disinterested search for truth,¹ he dominated by his intelligence. He kept the rather haughty manners of an aristocrat who does not deign to flatter the mob, but he strove to lead it by reason. His eloquence had none of the superb gestures and vocal effects which speak to the senses ; it said no more than was needed to set forth a case, but it could raise the debate above the level of everyday things by stating the principles of policy and morality in concise phrases. As a convinced democrat, he did not shrink from the logical consequences of his principles, but, as a statesman, he was able to display fairness and moderation towards his opponents. He made the political power of the people complete by causing an allowance to be paid to all who gave their time to public affairs ; the institution of the *μισθοί* took the monopoly of government from those who had leisure. But at the same time he maintained internal peace by obtaining the financial participation of the rich in the burdens of the State and by securing a livelihood for the poor, either by the creation of Cleruchies or by great works, which both beautified the city and gave employment to all the craftsmen. For many years Athens was to be free from the violent struggles which, in many Greek cities, divided rich and poor. The wisdom of Pericles succeeded in establishing social equilibrium ; later, in the days of Cleon, Hyperbolos, and their like, the aristocrat Thucydides extolled the democrat to whom the city had owed supremacy abroad and peace at home.

But what really raised Pericles above all others was the fact that his views went far beyond the narrow framework of the city. Certainly, he was first and foremost a patriotic Athenian, but he was also a patriotic Hellene, and with the work of Athens he wished to associate Greece. At a time when Athens was at peace with all the Greek peoples, probably about 448, Pericles issued an appeal to all the cities, inviting them to send delegates to Athens. This congress of all the Greeks of Europe and Asia should vote the measures requisite for the restoration of the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians and for the fulfilment of the vows made to the gods

¹ CXXIV, p. 275.

during the war. Moreover, it was to examine means of ensuring safety of navigation and the peace of the seas.¹ Pericles hoped in this way to continue the policy of the Persian Wars, basing the union of all on memories of the invasion and on common endeavours to maintain the results achieved, in other words, to keep the Greek seas clear of the Persians or anyone who should, like them, interfere with navigation. The policing of the Ægean had been the *raison d'être* of the Delian Confederacy, and remained a pretext for Athens to maintain her empire over the maritime cities; it was a truly liberal thought to associate all the states with the work hitherto reserved to Athens alone.

For the Greeks, no real association was conceivable without community of religious belief and worship. Since Athens was to be the capital of the Hellenic confederation, Pericles wished to group all the Greeks round a sanctuary in Attica. The cult of Demeter, which had originally been in the hands of a family of Eleusis, had, on the union of Eleusis with Athens, been brought into the official religion of the Athenians. But Demeter, the symbol of the nourishing, cultivated earth, Demeter, to whom men owed corn and agriculture, might easily rank among the great gods to whom universal homage was paid. Taking advantage of the influence which Athens for the time exercised on Delphi, Pericles succeeded in winning over the Oracle to his plans. The Athenians were ordered by Apollo to sacrifice to Demeter in the name of all the Greeks, and the Greeks were bidden to send the firstfruits of their harvests to Eleusis.² A legend came into being which placed the origin of these obligations in mythical times, making them the consequence of a famine, and it was a commonplace for Attic orators in the IVth century to recall how the Athenians had taught the rest of men the art of agriculture, which they themselves had learned from Demeter, and how the Greeks, in gratitude for this boon, had agreed to send their firstfruits.³

Lastly, the union desired by Pericles should lead to the resumption of Hellenic expansion. This was the object of the foundation of Thurii. Since the destruction of their city, the Sybarites had already once tried to restore it, but in

¹ Plut., *Per.*, 17.

² II, i, Suppl., p. 59, no. 27b.

³ Isocr., *Paneg.*, 28-31.

vain. They renewed their attempt, asking for the co-operation of Greece Proper. They were received coldly at Sparta, but in Athens they were supported by Pericles.¹ He, however, was not content with having Athenian colonists sent out.² He caused the foundation of the new city to be advertised everywhere, and called upon all Greeks to collaborate in the undertaking. To replace Sybaris, a new Greek city, Thurii, was built, and filled with a mixed population. An Athenian, the soothsayer Lampon, presided over the religious ceremonies of the foundation,³ but a Milesian, Hippodamos, drew the plan of the city, and, in accordance with his geometrical method, designed broad streets intersecting at right angles.⁴ Herodotos of Halicarnassos set out for Thurii,⁵ and so did the sons of Cephalos of Syracuse, Lysias and Polemarchos.⁶ The pan-Hellenic origin of Thurii was expressed in the names given to the ten tribes of the city, each of which was called after a Greek race.⁷

The projects of Pericles did not succeed. The congress which he had summoned was unable to meet, since the Peloponnesians, under the pressure of Sparta, refused to take part.⁸ Only the cities subject to Athens agreed to consecrate the firstfruits of their harvest to Demeter, just as they came to do homage to Athene at the Panathenæa. Although initiation to the Mysteries was open to all Greeks, Eleusis always remained a specially Athenian sanctuary. Even at Thurii, where the policy of Pericles had been more successful, discord soon arose between the various fractions of the population, and, forgetting the part played by Pericles, the Oracle of Delphi ordered them to recognize Apollo himself as the founder.⁹

All these failures were due to the jealousy of the cities. The rivals of Athens, and Sparta above all, saw that the union of which Pericles dreamed would make Athens the moral capital of the Greek world beyond dispute. Just as the Athenians recognized the ascendancy of Pericles, the Greek cities should have recognized the ascendancy of

¹ Diod., xii. 10. ² Plut., *Per.*, 11.

³ Schol. on Ar., *Clouds*, 332; *Birds*, 521.

⁴ Hesych., s.v. Ἰπποδάμου νέμησις.

⁵ Strabo, xiv. 2. 16; Plut., *Mor.*, 604f, 868A.

⁶ Plut., *Mor.*, 835D. The father of the Spartan general Gylippos was a citizen of Thurii; Thuc., vi. 104.

⁷ Diod., xii. 11.

⁸ Plut., *Per.*, 17.

⁹ Diod., xii. 35.

Athens. They would not. Yet Pericles was not actuated by selfish motives ; he wanted Athens to be glorious, but he also wanted Greece to be united and strong. By his comprehension of the interests of Hellenism, by the breadth of his views, which embraced the entire Greek world, he was worthy to realize the unity of Greece, had this unity been possible.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTICULARIST SPIRIT

1. THE CITY STATE AND DIRECT GOVERNMENT

NEVER, in the half-century which lay between the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War, had Greece been so near union. Nor was it ever more clearly seen that that unity could never be realized. Greek history, from Pericles to Philip, will show us the inability of Greece to break away from the city system and to unite small states so as to form one large state.

Apart from the most distant past, in which the only social unit had been the isolated family,¹ the earliest association which Greece had known was the *κώμη*, or village comprising several families who retained a dim memory of their common origin.² Dwellings were built for choice near a natural site which was easy to defend, and on this site the thick fortress walls were erected to serve as a refuge in case of danger. All around it the land had been reclaimed, and supplied the necessary food, and beyond that the waste, where the flocks and herds grazed, marked the bounds at which the activity of the inhabitants of the *κώμη* ended. These early groups, "restricted, hampered in their movements,"³ soon saw that they must not remain isolated. It was very seldom that they had all they needed on the spot, and it was very seldom that they had not a superfluity of certain commodities. So the first exchanges with neighbouring villages were made. At the foot of the best-defended fortress, or at a central point which was easy of access, the market was established, which was visited by the peasants of the neighbouring villages. Commercial relations created new ties. On the market-place the countrymen met to discuss matters of common interest; there, too, they laid their differences

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, i. 1. 6.

² *Ibid.*, i. 1. 7; Thuc., i. 5.

³ Vidal-Lablache, *Ann. de Géog.*, vii (1898), p. 109; cf. xi (1902), p. 15.

before arbiters or judges ; and there they held their religious festivals together. So the city state was born, formed by the union of the *κῶμαι*,¹ with a capital which grew up around what would always be regarded as the characteristic element of the Greek city, the *agora*. The history of the word *πόλις* reflects this evolution.² Originally, and etymologically, it meant the citadel ; until 386 the Acropolis of Athens officially had no other name than that of *πόλις*.³ But, as the citadel and its immediate surroundings became the religious and political centre, the word gradually took the meaning of "town," and, since the town was the capital of the state, *πόλις* finally designated the city state.

Confusion is all the easier because the Greek state was a city state—it was in essence a town and its surroundings. The growth of the state by the absorption of villages stopped as soon as the territory gave the inhabitants all the necessities of existence, all that enabled them to live "in the leisure of free and abstemious men."⁴ The state had to be confined within proper limits ; if it was too small, it could not suffice to itself, and if it was too large it could not be well governed.⁵ The number of citizens must be small enough for each to be under the eye of all, and for it to be impossible for a foreigner to slip into the ranks of the citizens without being known.⁶ The figure of 10,000 adult citizens seems to have been, for the political theorists, the maximum which the ideal state should not exceed.⁷

It has often been asked why the Greeks adhered to this city state, and never conceived or realized the large territorial state. If it is true that between these two forms—territorial state and city state—there is a difference of internal government, the former generally being a monarchy and the latter a commonwealth, and of foreign policy, the former having an offensive, expansive policy, and the latter a defensive policy,⁸ the whole of Greek history is involved in the question. It is not enough to refer to the sense of proportion as a characteristic of the Greek spirit ;⁹ we must

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, i. 1. 8.

² **XLV**, p. 115.

³ **CXXXV**, p. 10.

⁴ Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 5. 1 ; cf. vii. 4. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 4. 5. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii. 4. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 5. 2 ; cf. Diod., xii. 59. For *Myriandros* in Cilicia, see Xen., *Anab.*, i. 4. 6 ; Strabo, xiv. 5. 19.

⁸ **CL**, pp. 233–4.

⁹ See above, p. 35.

consider the reasons given to explain the particular case of political organization.

We have already encountered the problem and seen some of the solutions proposed.¹ We must, no doubt, take geographical conditions into account. The division of the country into small enclosed plains formed the natural frontiers of small, clearly defined states. Still more, the sporadic nature of the cultivable land compelled men to collect in kinds of oases, isolated from one another in the middle of uncultivated regions. That the influences of environment acted at the beginning seems certain, but geographical determinism must not make us forget the reaction of man on nature. Nowhere in Greece were the mountains a barrier capable of preventing all communication between one plain and another, and there was no Greek city which could be content with the products of its "oasis" and did not depend on others for part of its food. In fact, Greek states never coincided exactly with a geographical unit. Natural conditions, though they favoured the birth of small cities, were not an insuperable obstacle to the subsequent formation of large states.

For the theorists of antiquity, the limitation of the city is an essential condition of good government.² For in their eyes there is no other mode of government than direct government; that is to say, the personal participation of all citizens in public affairs. The people delegates its powers to magistrates; but offices can only be usefully assigned, according to the merits of each, if the candidates are personally known and judged by all the citizens.³ The people delivers justice; but juries can only judge litigious matters properly if they have personal knowledge of the character of the litigants and the circumstances of the case.⁴ The people decides all affairs in the assembly; but how could discussion be carried on, or be of any use, before an immense crowd, and how would it be even physically possible to hold the assembly? Where, says Aristotle, would one find a Stentor capable of acting as herald and making himself heard by the multitude?⁵ So direct government seems possible only

¹ See above, pp. 13-16, 40.

² See passages previously quoted from Aristotle.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 4. 5. ⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 4. 7. ⁵ *Ibid.*

with a limited number of citizens. You must either be content with a small city state, or you must give up the sovereignty of the people; states of great territorial extent are monarchies, both the vast Persian empire and the comparatively small kingdom of Macedonia.

The only way out of this dilemma would have been to pass from direct government to representative government. But the delegation of the popular power to elected representatives, whose decisions make the law, was unknown to antiquity. The only case in which one may recognize something of the kind was the election, in two stages, of the magistrates of Mantinea, who were nominated by electors who were themselves chosen, by election, from the whole body of citizens.¹ Moreover, this twofold operation was not very different from the Athenian system, by which the whole citizen body drew up a list of candidates, from whom the Archons were chosen by lot.² But nowhere is there any trace of an assembly of representatives, a "parliament." The Athenian *Boule* and the Spartan *Gerousia*, whatever the mode of appointment and the extent of their powers may have been, were simply executive committees emanating from the people, for the despatch of current business and the preparation of the legislative work of the Assembly.

In international relations, however, the cities could only act through representatives. Ambassadors had full power to negotiate with the peoples to whom they were accredited.³ The federal assemblies took the form of diplomatic congresses. The procedure followed in 432 by the members of the Peloponnesian League shows the rôle entrusted to the delegates of the cities. A first federal assembly discussed relations with Athens, then the Spartan Assembly of the people deliberated by itself and declared for war, thereupon the delegates of the cities went home to report on what had been said and done, and it was only in a second federal assembly that, armed with instructions from their governments, they finally voted for war.⁴ This was not a "chamber of representatives," but a meeting of delegates *ad audiendum et referendum*. Decision, like the ratification of treaties, lay with the peoples.

¹ Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 2. 12.

² **CXLIII**, pp. 36-7.

³ Arist., *Aθ. πολ.*, 8.

⁴ Thuc., i. 67, 79, 87, 119.

It is true that many representative assemblies have begun by being, like that just described, simply a congress of ambassadors, each speaking in the name of a certain group. But the Greek world never went beyond this first stage. This was no doubt due to the great value set on the individual. It seemed impossible to the Greeks that a reasonable man should abdicate his personal rights in favour of another, that a citizen should be content to have no share in the direction of affairs but through an intermediary. The Athenian Cleruch found it more natural to have no influence at all on the government when he lived on his Cleruchy, than to be denied personal participation in the discussions of the Assembly when he happened to be in Athens. All citizens were considered competent to hold every civic office ; every Athenian could address the people and, under conditions laid down by the law, present a proposal ; every Athenian might be appointed Councillor or Heliast by lot ; every Athenian might lay an accusation before the law-courts, and was considered capable of making his own defence. The absolute worth ascribed to the individual man seems to have been the greatest obstacle to the very conception of the representative system.

It is clear that in such circumstances the city state was the only form possible ; direct government presupposes a state of limited extent and a restricted population. The unity of the Greek world could not be made by the fusion of the different states in a single state ; it must respect the independence and autonomy of the small states, and could only be presented in the form of a federation.

2. THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

Federal organization is not exclusive of national unity. The Greek confederacies were attempts at partial unification ; but in some cases the federal bond was so loose that it allowed the isolation of the cities to survive, and in others the union, imposed by force, collapsed as soon as the small states thought that they could escape from the control of the great state which dominated them.

The earliest confederations were those which grouped peoples round a sanctuary for a common cult. These were

the *Amphictionies*, such as the league of the cities of the Saronic Gulf about the sanctuary of Poseidon at Calauria,¹ or that of the Ionian cities about the sanctuary of Poseidon on Cape Mycale.² The most famous of them was that which, after bringing together the peoples of central and northern Greece round the sanctuary of Demeter at Thermopylæ, extended its activity to that of Apollo at Delphi. But the *Amphictionies* only exceptionally had a political rôle;³ at the very most, they helped the peoples to become aware of their moral unity, and facilitated diplomatic agreements.

Leagues and federations owed their origin to political alliances, which were at first temporary, and then permanent.

Sparta at first followed a policy of conquest; but at the end of the VIth century, renouncing further annexations, she was content to obtain recognition of her authority from the neighbouring peoples. After her victories over the Tegeans, she imposed a kind of protectorate on Tegea. She intervened in Elis, where she assumed the attitude of protectress of the Olympic sanctuary; tradition, antedating the Spartan pretensions, related that Elis and Sparta had made a treaty in the time of Lycurgos, to guarantee the neutrality of the sanctuary and to enforce respect for the sacred truce.⁴ Thus was formed, round Sparta, the Peloponnesian League, which comprised all the states of the Peloponnese, except Argolis and Achæa.

The cities, great and small, were independent, self-governing,⁵ exempt from all tribute.⁶ The federal assembly had no regular sessions; it met, generally at Sparta,⁷ at the request of one of the allies.⁸ Each city had one vote, and decisions, taken by a majority,⁹ were binding on all the allies, except when a city, to reserve its liberty of action, pleaded religious impediments¹⁰ or contrary clauses in earlier treaties.¹¹ In case of war, the assembly decided the contingents to be raised or the sums to be paid in lieu of military service, and prescribed fines for defaulters.¹² In the assembly Sparta had only one vote, like the rest, but the deliberations

¹ Strabo, viii. 6. 14.

² *Ibid.*, xvi. 1. 20.

³ Hdt., vi. 7.

⁴ **XXIX**, s.v. *Olympia*.

⁵ Cf. the treaties with Argos, Thuc., v. 77, 79.

⁶ Thuc., i. 19.

⁷ Assembly of Corinth in 413, Thuc., viii. 8.

⁸ Thuc., i. 67.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 119, 125; v. 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 30; Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 2. 16.

¹¹ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 4. 30.

¹² *Ibid.*, v. 2. 21-2.

of the Spartan people influenced the decisions of the allies.¹

Once war was decided, Sparta took the command of all the allied forces, even on sea, despite the claims of maritime cities like Corinth.² She decided the portion of the contingent to be called up and the place of concentration.³ At the head of the allied troops she placed Spartiate *ξενάγοι* who commanded jointly with the officers of the cities.⁴ She drew up the plan of operations without discussing it with the allies, and did not even communicate it to them on taking the field.⁵ What was more, she alone conducted negotiations during the war,⁶ and came later to insist on declaring war without even consulting the allies.⁷

In spite of the authority exercised by Sparta, the ties which held the confederates together were fairly loose. The object of the alliance was limited, being purely defensive.⁸ Not only had the cities the free management of their internal affairs, but they might even, without failing in their obligations and without committing the league, have an independent foreign policy and negotiate, and even fight, with foreign cities. The alliance did not even prevent them from making war on one another.⁹ Since the authority of Sparta was not oppressive, they were the more easily held together, but the independence of the cities made the weakness of the league, which lost its time in endless debates and left decisions outstanding.¹⁰ It could never have realized the unity of the Peloponnese.

The marine confederacy of Athens was very different. Its policy was frankly one of union, but its unity, being made in the interest of Athens alone, was for that very reason fragile and ephemeral. The example of the Athenian empire best reveals the weaknesses of the Greek federal system.

Shortly after the victories of Salamis and Mycale the Asiatic Greeks had conferred the command of the naval forces on the Athenian leaders, and had concluded with Athens a series of agreements which were the basis of the

¹ For the procedure of the assemblies of 432, see p. 293 and the passages quoted from Thucydides. ² Thuc., viii. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 10; iii. 15; Xen., iii. 4. 3.

⁴ **XXIX**, s.v. *ξενάγοι*.

⁵ Thuc., v. 54; Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 3. 7.

⁶ Thuc., v. 60.

⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 3. 8.

⁸ Thuc., v. 77.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 103; iv. 134.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 141.

maritime league. This league, the object of which was to liberate the Greeks still subject to Persia and to defend the Greece of Asia and the islands against any future attempt of the Great King,¹ adopted as its political and religious centre the island which was holy above all others in the eyes of the Ionians—Delos. The delegates of the cities met in the sanctuary of Apollo, and there the treasure,² “the common riches of the Greeks,”³ was kept. All the cities were independent and equal among themselves. In the federal assembly, small and great had the same number of votes.⁴ All contributed, in proportion to their resources, to the levy of troops, the equipment of fleets, and federal expenses. Athens was only the president. She commanded the land and sea forces, and the Peiræus was the head-quarters of the federal fleet.⁵ She supervised the management of finances; the “Treasurers of the Greeks,” the *Hellenotamiai*, were always citizens of Athens, appointed by the Athenian people.

But gradually this federation of free and equal cities was transformed into an Athenian empire. Most of the cities, especially in Ionia, being unused to military service, asked to be relieved of the duty of supplying soldiers and ships, and to be allowed to pay contributions in money instead of military service. Athens gladly accepted this change. Soon the federal navy was composed, except for a few ships of Chios and Lesbos,⁶ entirely of Athenian triremes. The allies had not perceived that they were preparing for their own subjection. Athens found in the contributions of the cities the means for increasing her forces, and, being now the only military power in the league, she could enforce her will.⁷ On the pretext that on Delos the treasure was exposed to a surprise attack of the Persians, she caused the allies to vote for its removal to Athens, and thenceforward, being strong in her ships and holding the treasure, she neglected to convoke the federal assembly. The *ἡγεμονία*⁸ of Athens became an *ἀρχή*.⁹ The cities of the Athenian empire continued to be called officially “the allies,” *οἱ σύμμαχοι*, or “the cities,”

¹ Thuc., iii. 10; vi. 76.

² *Ibid.*, i. 96.

³ Diod., xii. 54; Plut., *Per.*, 12. ⁴ Thuc., i. 97; iii. 10, 11.

⁵ Andoc., *Peace*, 38.

⁶ Thuc., i. 19; vi. 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 99; vi. 76; Plut., *Cim.*, 11.

⁸ Thuc., i. 96.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 97, 118.

αἱ πόλεις,¹ but in ordinary use they were described by the name which best expressed their new position, "the subjects," ὑπήκοοι.²

For they were now indeed subject to manifold obligations. In theory the cities were self-governing, but in fact there were very few to which Athens left the choice of their internal organization.³ The allies had to take the oath of fidelity to Athens⁴ and to modify their constitution in the way suggested by the political preferences of the Athenians. Little by little, aristocratic governments, which were tolerated at first,⁵ gave place to democratic governments. Some cities let themselves be persuaded to make the necessary changes for themselves,⁶ but Athens was not always so considerate of their feelings; Erythræ was given a constitution, exactly modelled on that of Athens, by a decree of the Athenian people.⁷ Athenian ἐπίσκοποι were sent to the cities to supervise the governments,⁸ and, if necessary, an Athenian garrison placed force at the disposal of the Athenian officials installed among the allies.⁹

The allies had to pay tribute.¹⁰ This tribute was no longer settled by international agreements, like those which Aristides had concluded at the beginning. It was fixed every four years by the Athenian *Boule*. It was exceptional for the cities to tax themselves; at the most they could submit their remarks and appeal from the decision of the *Boule* to the court of the Athenian Heliasts.¹¹ The tribute, collected by officials of the allies, was brought to Athens at the feast of the Great Dionysia,¹² and handed over to the *Hellenotamiai* under the supervision of the *Boule*. If cities were late with their contributions, Athens sent them tax-collectors, whose demands were backed by battleships.¹³

As for religion, the allies had to take part in the festivals of the deities of Athens.¹⁴ As for law, the local courts only dealt with minor cases; all important cases, such as those

¹ II, i, 9, 37, 40.

² Thuc., i. 117; vii. 57.

³ II, i, Suppl., 61a, ll. 5-6.

⁴ II, i, 9; 13; Suppl., 27a.

⁵ Thuc., i. 115; iii. 27.

⁶ Isocr., xii. 54; cf. iv. 104; xii. 68.

⁷ II, i, 9, ll. 7-28.

⁸ II, i, 9; Ar., *Birds*, 1022 and Schol.; Harp., s.v. ἐπίσκοπος.

⁹ II, i, 9; i, Suppl., 22a; Thuc., i. 115; Schol. on Ar., *Peace*, 1176; Ar., *Birds*, 1050; etc.

¹⁰ II, i, 37-8.

¹¹ II, i, 37, l. 42; Xen., *Ath.*, iii. 5.

¹² Ar., *Ach.*, 502-3; Schol. on *Ach.*, 378, 504.

¹³ Thuc., ii. 69; iii. 19; iv. 50.

¹⁴ II, i, 9, ll. 2-7.

involving a sentence to *atimia*, exile, or death, were reserved for the Athenian courts.¹ In every way, Athens was all-powerful in the empire.

The Athenian dominion made for the unification of insular and Asiatic Greece. With similar forms of government, Athens established a certain unity of legislation.² Allied traders adopted the weights and measures as well as the money of Athens.³ The allies, being obliged to conduct their law-suits in the Athenian courts, had to familiarize themselves with the Attic tongue, which gained on the local dialects. But the defect of the empire was that it was organized exclusively in the interest of Athens. The burdens of the allies were, above all, a source of pecuniary profit for the Athenians. The public treasury grew rich on the fines pronounced by the law-courts, and the money spent by litigants during their stay went into the pockets of Athenian merchants.⁴ Worst of all, the Athenian people had no scruple in drawing on the imperial treasury for its own needs. The tribute paid for the erection of great monuments, the tribute met the many expenses occasioned by democratic government. Pericles himself expounded the theory of federal finance. Athens, he said, had received from the Confederacy of Delos the charge of protecting the Greek cities against any attempt of Persia. So long as she ensured the freedom of the seas and the tranquillity of Asiatic Greece, she fulfilled her undertaking, and the allies ought to declare themselves satisfied; it was no business of theirs how Athens employed the money which they paid her for their safety.⁵

The so-called allies had no longer any liberty, not even that of withdrawing from the league. Every city which severed its alliance was guilty of treason. Naxos,⁶ Thasos,⁷ and Samos⁸ knew how sternly Athens punished defection. Moreover, since all the maritime cities benefited by the protection of the Athenian fleets, all, the Athenians said, must contribute to the costs of the business, that is, they must form part of the empire. Athens let herself be drawn into a policy of conquest which nothing could justify, except the

¹ II, i, 9, ll. 25 ff.; i, Suppl., 27a, ll. 70 ff.; Antiphon, v. 47; Xen., *Hell.*, i. 5. 19; *Ath.*, ix. 407B.

² Isocr., iv. 104.

³ II, xii, 5, no. 480; Xen., *Vect.*, iii. 2; cf. Ar., *Birds*, 1040.

⁴ Xen., *Ath.*, i. 16-18.

⁵ Plut., *Per.*, 12.

⁶ Thuc., i. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 115-17.

right of the stronger. But this oppressive and high-handed policy aroused the particularist spirit in the allies. Cities which at the beginning had willingly accepted the protection and hegemony of Athens had no longer anything but hatred for their former ally,¹ and watched for the favourable moment to escape from her tyranny. The Sicilian disaster would be followed immediately by a general rising of the allies and the collapse of the Athenian empire.

The system applied by Athens was in later years adopted by the cities which obtained the hegemony after her. Sparta, too, would force governments of her own choosing on the cities, and would quarter officials and garrisons upon them, and, after Sparta, Thebes would do the same. All these dominions might set out to unite the Greek world; all failed. For all were made in the interest of a more powerful city at the expense of weaker cities. Stable alliance, says Thucydides,² is only possible between peoples which are equally strong and redoubtable, for then no one of them dares to oppress its allies. But when the allies are really subjects, the union, imposed by force, only lasts so long as that force can be exerted. Far from bringing peoples together, the tyrannical empire of one city could only give birth to hatred, conflict, and war among the cities of Greece.

3. POLITICAL PARTIES AND FOREIGN POWERS

The city which had the hegemony tried to strengthen its power by continual intervention in the internal affairs of the subject cities, and by the support of the party which favoured its own political doctrines. The skilful conduct of Brasidas, who respected the old democratic constitution of Acanthos,³ is unique and remarkable. The rule was that the supreme city imposed on its subjects a constitution similar to its own.⁴ Athens supported democracy everywhere.⁵ Sparta made war on the tyrants everywhere in the VIth century,⁶ and assumed the defence of the oligarchies in the Vth.⁷ Internal and foreign politics constantly acted one on

¹ Thuc., iii. 10. ² *Ibid.*, iii. 11. ³ *Ibid.*, iv. 85. ⁴ Arist., *Pol.*, iv. 9. 11.

⁵ Isocr., *Paneg.*, 105; Arist., *Pol.*, v. 6. 9. E.g. her intervention at Thespiæ, Thuc., vi. 95.

⁶ Arist., *Pol.*, v. 8. 18; Plut., *Mor.*, 859c-d.

⁷ Arist., *Pol.*, v. 6. 9. E.g. her intervention at Sicyon and Argos, Thuc., v. 81.

the other. Alliances were formed when cities were governed by the same party. The Megarians and Bœotians would not ally themselves with Argos, because their aristocratic government agreed better with Spartan oligarchy than with Argive democracy.¹ In every city, moreover, the parties had no scruple in calling upon a foreign power, even delivering their own country to it in order to make themselves masters at home.² The democrats of Megara, fearing the return of the banished aristocrats, offered to surrender their city to the Athenians.³ The citizens exiled from Rhegium roused the Locrians against their country.⁴ The Thebans attempted to surprise Plataea at the instigation of Plataeans who wished to seize the power.⁵

The history of the aristocratic party in Athens, from the time of Pericles to that of Thrasybulos, affords the best example of the close connexion of internal with outside events. The moderate democracy established by Pericles won the moderate aristocrats to his side, but the Peloponnesian War brought the parties into opposition again. Whereas the democrats were for the extension of the sea empire and war to the finish, the aristocrats were opposed to any policy of aggression and conquest, and wished to restore and to maintain peace with Sparta. The reason was that the burdens of war weighed especially on the rich. They were ready to place their fortune at the disposal of the State ; they bore the cost of the Liturgies, and they paid the tax on capital, which was first levied in 428. But the principle which Pericles had intended to be an element of social peace was abused by the demagogues ; as the war increased wants and diminished resources, they hoped to find in the property of the rich the wherewithal to support the budget of the State. Then a regular drive was organized against the rich, who were dragged by informers before the popular juries—passionate, incompetent bodies, which were always ready to condemn those who were represented to them as political enemies. So the war aggravated the burdens and dangers of the rich, just at the time when they were refused the share of influence which might have compensated their sacrifices. In both parties the moderates were swept aside. The sup-

¹ Thuc., v. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 1.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 2 ; iii. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 66.

porters of extreme oligarchy organized themselves into secret societies, at first to defend themselves against legal attacks and to influence the choice of magistrates,¹ and then to prepare the revolutionary movement which should abolish the democratic constitution.

Political crises are the backwash of defeats. The collapse of the sea empire deprived the democracy of its financial resources and its chief moral power. The disturbed situation was favourable to the intrigues of Alcibiades. That vain and selfish individual, who thought of nothing but satisfying his own desires, and proudly considered himself superior to all laws, pursued an entirely personal policy. He did not hesitate to betray his country for Sparta, and then, quarrelling with the Spartans, retired to the court of the Persian satrap Tissaphernes. He now wanted to return to Athens, and with this object tried to have himself accepted as the intermediary required between Persia and the Athenians; so he caused it to be known in Athens that the King would readily give his support to an aristocratic government. This declaration won over to the aristocrats all who, out of patriotism, were willing to sacrifice their political preferences in order to secure for Athens the alliance and the gold of Persia. In the summer of 411 an extraordinary assembly proceeded to revise the constitution, reduced the number of citizens to five thousand, and organized an aristocratic government, directed by the rich and supported by the middle class.²

But the army and the crews of the fleet, collected on Samos, declared against the new regime, and, in a spirit of admiration which is inexplicable, chose for their leader none other than Alcibiades.³ This unexpected development precipitated events in Athens. The aristocrats were divided between two policies. One section, that of the uncompromising extremists, was represented by Antiphon, a fanatical doctrinaire, who sacrificed everything to his political animosities, and would sooner ruin the city than recognize the democracy. The other, the conciliatory section, was represented by Theramenes, who, setting country above

¹ Thuc., viii. 54.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 63-7; Arist., 'Aθ. πολ.', 29-32.

³ Thuc., viii. 74-7, 81-2.

parties, refused to surrender Athens to Sparta,¹ and preferred to strive for an agreement with the moderate democrats. Antiphon negotiated with Sparta, without the consent of the five thousand citizens; Theramenes, backed by the middle class, obtained the upper hand and caused Antiphon to be condemned to death.² But the aristocratic party discredited by the set-backs for which it was held responsible,³ and especially by the dealings of Antiphon with Sparta, was obliged to allow the old constitution to be restored.

The final defeat of Athens brought the aristocrats back into power. The democracy, which had made the last attempts at resistance, was condemned by the conqueror; Sparta imposed an oligarchic government, in which all the power belonged in fact and without control to thirty citizens. The reaction of 404 was a more violent repetition of that of 411; it had the same origins, the same internal struggles, the same foreign problems, the same failure. The extreme aristocrats, under the leadership of Critias, an intelligent and cultivated man, but devoid of conviction or morality, exercised a veritable tyranny, ordering countless illegal arrests and executions, and persecuting the Metics, in order to seize their wealth as much as to punish them for their adhesion to the democracy. Heedless of national honour, they appealed to Sparta, begged for her financial support, and installed a Spartan garrison on the Acropolis. The moderates, who again found a leader in Theramenes, wished to return to a lawful form of government, condemned the measures taken against the Metics as likely to damage the economic development of the city, and endeavoured to maintain a reserved and dignified attitude towards Sparta. This time the extremists won the day, and Theramenes drank the hemlock.⁴ But the Thirty ruined themselves by their excesses. The democrats, led by a moderate named Thrasybulos, returned to Attica. On the death of Critias, the two parties, being about equal in strength, were compelled to refer to the arbitration of Sparta. A Spartan army came and restored peace and order in Attica, the old constitution was restored, and the democrats made their victory

¹ Thuc., viii. 68. ² *Ibid.*, viii. 89-91.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 95-6; Arist., 'Aθ. πολ.', 33.

⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 3; Arist., 'Aθ. πολ.', 34-6.

secure by their moderation, proclaiming a general amnesty and even undertaking to pay the debts of the fallen government.¹

The example of Athens shows well how political parties joined hands across frontiers and called on foreign intervention, which might give rise to new wars. Moreover, party struggles were bitterer and more savage than foreign war. Between one citizen and another, every injustice, every violence, every crime seemed permitted. At Epidamnus the rich, driven out of the city, turned brigands and pirates, and joined the barbarians in molesting their fellow-citizens.² At Megara the exiles, after promising a full amnesty, caused their opponents to be put to death as soon as they were back in power.³ Confiscation of property and banishment were the mildest penalties; the only known way of disposing of political adversaries seems to have been to have them murdered, either individually⁴ or in a mass.⁵ One must read Thucydides' narrative⁶ of the disorders at Corcyra, massacre following massacre, debtors getting rid of their creditors and individuals satisfying their private hatred under cover of political executions, suppliants torn from temples and fathers murdering their sons, to obtain a notion of the degree of atrocity to which civil strife was raised by the inexorable hatred of fellow-citizens.

So there were too many motives to bring Greek cities into collision—opposition of interests often due to mere neighbourhood, resentment of small states towards the great power, which, under the guise of alliance, exploited and oppressed them, internal strife between democrats and aristocrats, between rich and poor, in which both parties called on foreign intervention. There were no doubt some noble souls in Greece who desired concord. All the works of Aristophanes were a call for peace. At Gela, Hermocrates counselled the Sicilian cities to forget their differences and unite.⁷ At Olympia, Lysias preached the union of all the Greeks, as Isocrates was to do later. The reconciliation of the cities, and of the citizens within them, was a fine project, which might have won glory and pre-eminence for the city which

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 4; Arist., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 37-40.

² Thuc., i. 24. ³ *Ibid.*, iv. 74. ⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 65, 73, 92.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 4. 2; Diod., xiv. 34, 86; xv. 40, 58.

⁶ Thuc., iii. 70-85; iv. 47-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 59-64.

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realized it.¹ But all these were but voices crying in the wilderness. The history of Greece in the Vth and IVth centuries is made up of wars between the cities. The sanctuary of Delphi was filled with dedications commemorating the victories of Greeks over Greeks, which honest Plutarch would not be able to see without indignation and grief.²

¹ Xen., *Vect.*, 5.

² Plut., *Mor.*, 401c-d.

CHAPTER V

THE WARS OF THE CITIES

1. THE BREACH BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA

WHEN the Athenians, in the summer of 431, seeing that hostilities had commenced, conducted the envoy of King Archidamos back to the frontier without hearing him, the Spartan, in taking leave of his escort, declared: "This day will be the beginning of great ills for Greece."¹ The breach of the agreements of 446 opened a period of uninterrupted wars, in which the Greek cities exhausted themselves one after another. Greece would scarcely know peace until the day when it was imposed on her by the Macedonian conqueror. How did the struggle begin, and who were responsible? The question of the origin of a war is always delicate and always disputed. The belligerents had an interest in not saying too clearly who began it.² Thucydides is of opinion that war was inevitable, and that the cause was the growing power of Athens and the feelings of jealousy or fear which it inspired in the other cities, and particularly in Sparta.³

Sparta, though a military city, was not a bellicose one. She remained under arms in order to maintain her authority over her subjects and neighbours in the Peloponnese, but she was not organized for long and distant wars. She had a strong army, but she kept it jealously. The effectives at her disposal were not sufficient to be risked in costly operations; the affair of Sphacteria, in which less than 200 Spartans were put out of action, was regarded as a catastrophe.⁴ She had even less resources in money than in men. Being practically unacquainted with monetary economy, she had no reserve in the public treasury, and could not count on the wealth of individual citizens.⁵ She did not collect tribute

¹ Thuc., ii. 12.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 23, 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 80, 141; Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 23.

from her allies.¹ For the war against Athens, she hoped to be able to draw on the treasures of the sanctuaries under her influence, Delphi and Olympia,² and she resigned herself to begging for financial aid from anyone who should be willing to grant it, even barbarians.³ At the very beginning of the war the Spartans entered into negotiations with the King of Persia,⁴ and the victories of Lysander were made possible by the money of the satraps of Asia Minor.

Furthermore, the Spartan government was the less desirous of war because it feared the repercussion on the internal life of the city. War served the cause of the lower classes. The fewer citizens there were, the more Perioeci must be enrolled, and even Helots. Fighting by the side of the Spartiates, the Perioeci and Helots felt that they were as good as their masters, and they might justly demand a place in the city which they helped to defend. It was during war-time that the Helots had to be handled carefully, and were most to be feared.⁵ After the failures of 425-424, Sparta lived in dread of a Helot rising and a crisis at home, like that which had been provoked by the earthquake of 464.⁶

But, perhaps even more than the effect of the war on the lower classes, the Spartan government feared that which it might have on the Equals. The military and conservative spirit, the archaic simplicity and the "virtues" of Sparta, were maintained by the isolation of the city. Already the old rules had been unable to prevent wealth from appearing in Sparta, and, with it, inequality.⁷ A king like Pleistoanax was rich enough to be considered, in 445, capable of paying a fine of fifteen talents.⁸ War accelerated this development. Citizens, no less than Helots, enriched themselves by plunder⁹ and, coming into contact with other peoples and other civilizations, forgot the austere traditions of their forbears and acquired a taste for luxury and the pleasures of a more refined life. The contagion was even more to be feared for the leaders. It was easier for them than for plain citizens to make themselves rich by lawful or unlawful means. Gold, a metal which was rare at Sparta, inspired them with greed, that *πλεονεξία* which came to be regarded as a character-

¹ Thuc., i. 19.

² *Ibid.*, i. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 67; Diod., xii. 41.

⁵ Thuc., iv. 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 55.

⁷ Hdt., vii. 134.

⁸ Schol. on Ar., *Clouds*, 859.

⁹ Hdt., ix. 80.

istic defect of the Spartan.¹ Just as the Spartans were accused of being the first to try to buy the enemy,² and even to bribe the Delphic Pythia,³ so, too, the Spartan leaders were supposed to be very ready to lend an ear to the proposals of anyone who would pay them. There were many accusations, justified or not, of corruption.⁴ After Plataea, Leotychidas, during his campaign in Thessaly, let himself be bought by the Aleuads, and was caught red-handed, sitting on a bag of gold.⁵ At the same time, the habit of command and the pride of victory encouraged the leader to think himself above the law and to try to extend to the whole city the absolute power which he enjoyed in the army. Since he was sure of encountering the opposition of the Equals, he naturally thought of obtaining the support of the oppressed classes. Pausanias not only played the satrap but tried to join forces with the Helots in order to realize his ambitious dreams.⁶ As always, the alliance of the victorious general with the popular parties would lead to personal rule, tyranny.

So, then, the Spartan government, both from a just appreciation of the weaknesses of their city and from fear of repercussions on home politics, avoided any warlike step as much as possible. Whenever there was a menace of war the Spartans hesitated, took counsel together, and delayed the decision as long as they could. They could in an emergency act quickly against their immediate neighbours, but every expedition beyond the Isthmus seemed to them a most adventurous undertaking. Whether they were to help Cræsus or to co-operate with the Greeks of Asia, to defend themselves against Xerxes or to attack Athens, there was always the same slowness and shilly-shallying. The speech which Thucydides places in the mouth of King Archidamos⁷ expresses the feelings of many Spartans, and, no doubt, of all the *Gerontes* who directed the government.

Sparta was pacific, but she was not alone in the Peloponnesian League. Among the allied cities there was one of a very different character, whose importance was equal to that of Sparta—Corinth. Corinth had the spirit of initiative and the audacity of a commercial city. She did not confine her

¹ Hdt., vii. 149; Paus., iv. 5. 3.

² Paus., iv. 17, 2.

³ Hdt., vi. 66; cf. Thuc., v. 16.

⁴ Hdt., vi. 82; viii. 5; Plut., *Them.*, 19; *Per.*, 22; Thuc., ii. 21.

⁵ Hdt., vi. 72; Paus., iii. 7. 9.

⁶ Thuc., i. 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 80-5.

horizon to the Dorian countries around her. Her policy, like her interests, covered the whole Greek world. She commanded attention from the allies, and even from Sparta, because she brought them two things which they lacked, and must have—a fleet¹ and money. If Thucydides gives the whole case of all the allies in the speeches of the Corinthians alone,² it is not from a literary desire for simplification, but in order to bring out clearly the preponderant rôle of Corinth in the assemblies which eventually decided for war.

The grievances of Corinth against Athens were of a commercial and economic order. Since the Persian Wars, Athens, mistress of the Ægean Sea, had tolerated no further competition from the old commercial centres on the Saronic Gulf. Ægina was under her dominion. Megara, caught between Corinth and Athens, was equally unfortunate; Athens had withdrawn her garrisons from the Megarid since 445, but she claimed to control the economic activity of her neighbour as she pleased, and went so far, on grounds the value of which we can hardly estimate, as to pass a decree forbidding the Megarians access to the markets of Attica and the whole Athenian empire.³ Corinth, being more powerful, could more easily resist Athenian encroachment, but she, too, felt herself threatened by the competition of Athens.

Of the three granaries of the Hellenic Mediterranean, southern Scythia, Egypt, and Sicily, from which Athens could supplement her deficient harvests, one, Sicily, especially concerned Corinth. Situated at the point where the western sea-routes, by way of the Gulf of Corinth, came to an end, and joined up with those of the Ægean, the mother city of prosperous colonies on the shores of Epeiros, Illyria, and Sicily, Corinth might pretend to a monopoly of trade with the Greece of the West. Before the Persian Wars, the Athenians had seldom visited the western seas. Even when Attic pottery cut out that of Ionia and Corinth on the Etruscan market, it was carried thither by middle-men. Even in Alcibiades' time many Athenians had only a *vague* idea of Sicily and the neighbouring countries. But with

¹ Thuc., i. 120.

² *Ibid.*, i. 68–71, 120–4.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 42, 67, 139, 144; Ar., *Ach.*, 515, 530 ff.; Diod., xii. 39; Plut., *Per.*, 29.

Themistocles a western policy began to take shape in Athens. Themistocles (who called two of his daughters Italia and Sybaris)¹ won the good graces of the Corcyraeans,² concerned himself with the affairs of Epeiros,³ and perhaps even entered into relations with the tyrants of Syracuse.⁴ When war broke out between Sparta and Athens, the operations which Athens conducted between 460 and 453 clearly show that her attention was turned westward. The establishment of the Messenians at Naupactos, the occupation of the Megarid, the expeditions of Tolmides in the Ionian Sea and of Pericles to Sicyon and Ceniadæ were all intended to bring the Corinthian Gulf and the routes to Italy and Sicily under Athenian control. Now, it was here that the Corinthian navy and the Athenian navy were bound to come into collision.

Corinth, which could not deny the power of Athens and her legitimate need for expansion, was prepared to make concessions, and, to safeguard her privileged position in the western countries, she was ready to leave to Athens the mastery of the Ægean. This was the basis of the agreement of 446, which provided for a partition of the Greek world. Sparta was to have the Peloponnese, Corinth the seas and trade of the west, and Athens the Ægean Sea and the trade of the north. By restoring liberty to Megara, by evacuating Nisæa on the Saronic Gulf and Pegæ on the Gulf of Corinth, and by giving up Achæa,⁵ the Athenians proved that they abandoned all designs on the west. On her side, Corinth recognized the Athenian empire; when Samos revolted, the Corinthians caused the Peloponnesian League to reject the Samians' request for intervention.⁶

But could the cities have confined themselves each to its own zone of influence? Corinth had interests in Chalcidice, where Potidæa was in the ambiguous position of obtaining magistrates from Corinth and paying tribute to Athens as a member of the Athenian confederacy.⁷ On the other hand, though Pericles might direct Athenian activity northwards, to Thrace, to the Hellespont, to the shores of the Euxine,⁸ he could not absolutely close his eyes to the west. The foundation of Thurii had a pan-Hellenic character,⁹ but the

¹ Plut., *Them.*, 32.

² Thuc., i. 136; Plut., *Them.*, 24.

³ Thuc., i. 136; Plut., *Them.*, 24.

⁴ Plut., *Them.*, 24-5.

⁵ Thuc., i. 115; iv. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 56.

⁸ XXXVII, ii, 1, p. 198.

⁹ See above, pp. 287-8.

treaties with Leontion and Rhegion,¹ like the earlier treaty with Segesta,² showed that Athens did not mean to abandon all interest in the Greece of the west.

The conflict broke out with the affair of Corcyra. The Corcyraeans, who were perpetually at war with their mother city, Corinth, requested the alliance of Athens. They pointed out that Corcyra commanded the crossing from Greece to Italy and Sicily³ and this argument was sufficient to decide the Athenians in their favour.⁴ To do so was to break with Corinth, which was in danger of being cut off from its western colonies. It was, therefore, the Corinthians who, in the assembly of the allies, made themselves the mouthpiece of all who were discontented, mentioning, in addition to their own grievances, those of the Megarians,⁵ who complained of the decrees of exclusion, and those of the Æginetans, who did not dare to state their wishes openly.⁶ In loyalty to her allies, Sparta allowed herself to be dragged into war.

Athens saw war coming, without being very desirous of it. No doubt she could have avoided it if she had not made Corinth uneasy by her policy of expansion. In form, at least, she wished to cast the odium of aggression on her opponents. When she answered the appeal of the Corcyraeans, she recalled that the treaty of 446 permitted an alliance with Corcyra,⁷ which had hitherto remained outside the two opposing groups,⁸ and she made it clear that the alliance was purely defensive;⁹ the Athenian fleet had orders not to fight unless the Corinthians attacked the Corcyraeans.¹⁰ Athens repeatedly demanded, as the Corcyraeans had already done,¹¹ that, in accordance with the treaty, all disputes should be settled by arbitration.¹² The Spartans, on the other hand, rejected legal proceedings, and only engaged in negotiations in order to gain time. Each Lacedæmonian embassy formulated new demands. First they required the expulsion of sacrilegious persons, meaning Pericles the Alcmaeonid,¹³ then they said that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, the

¹ II, i, 33; Suppl., 1, 33a; Thuc., iii. 86.

² II, i, Suppl., 1, 22k; Thuc., vi. 6.

³ Thuc., i. 36; Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 2. 9; Diod., xii. 54. 2.

⁴ Thuc., i. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 36, 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 28.

¹² *Ibid.*, i. 78, 140, 144, 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i. 126-8.

decrees against Megara repealed, and Ægina restored to independence,¹ and lastly they demanded the autonomy of all the cities, in other words, the dissolution of the Athenian empire.² This made it easy for Pericles to say that war was unavoidable, and that every concession would at once be followed by new demands.³ Finally, the sudden attack of Thebes on Platæa, in violation of the treaty of 446, led inevitably to the intervention of Athens, and so to general war.⁴ The Spartans themselves recognized later that the Theban attack in the midst of peace and the refusal to resort to arbitration made them and the allies the aggressors responsible for the war.⁵

2. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Sparta counted on her military superiority. She hoped, by invading Attica every year and ravaging the country, to ruin Athens and compel her to yield.⁶ She was forgetting that Athens, being mistress of the sea, could receive the supplies she needed from outside. Shut up within the Long Walls as on an island, the peasants of Attica might pine for their country life and weep over their devastated vineyards and olive-groves, but they lacked neither food, nor metal for the arms of the hoplites, nor timber for building triremes. On the contrary, the Athenian fleet, sure of its strength, blockaded the coasts of the Peloponnese, ready in its turn to spread the ravages of war wherever it seemed good. Like all wars between a land power, with only a land army, and a sea power, with only naval forces, this war was to be very long. The decision would not be reached in a pitched battle, which the Athenians wisely avoided. Peace, unless something unexpected happened, could only come from the exhaustion of one of the opponents.

Now, the resources of Athens were considerable,⁷ and Sparta was the first to grow weary. The fall of Sphacteria, at which a happy combination of circumstances gave the Athenians nearly 300 prisoners,⁸ and the occupation of Cythera, whence Laconia itself could be raided,⁹ spread discouragement among the Spartans. The bold initiative of

¹ Thuc., i. 139.

⁴ Diod., xii. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 13.

² *Ibid.*, i. 139.

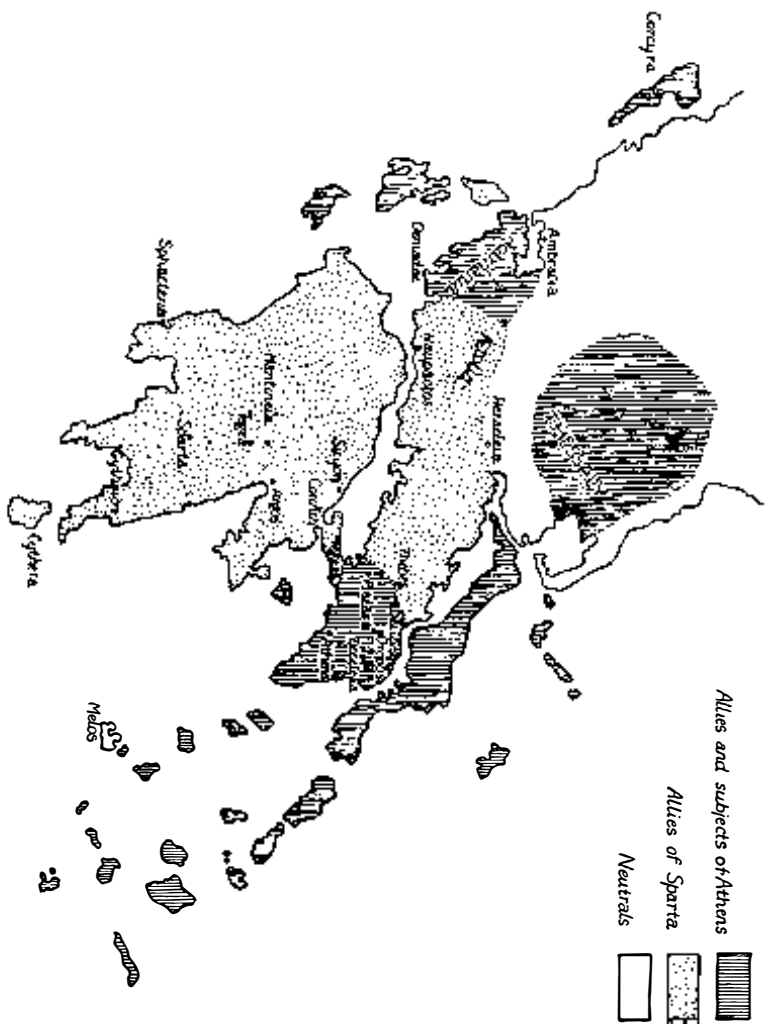
⁵ Thuc., vii. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 53-7.



GREECE AT THE TIME OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Brasidas, who sought to strike Athens in her northern possessions and to deprive her of the resources needed for her fleet,¹ was not seconded by the Spartan government, which at once became jealous of the glory of its general and of the enthusiastic reception which he found in the cities of Chalcidice.² The Spartan government hastened to take advantage of successes which wiped out the reverses of 425-424 to open negotiations. In spite of the efforts of the war parties, peace was signed in the spring of 421 on the basis of the *status quo*.

This peace without victors might satisfy the Spartans, who had found themselves at war almost in spite of themselves, but it could not satisfy the allies, for the questions which in their eyes were the reasons for the war were not settled, and the ambitions of Athens in the west were as great a danger for them as ever. The Athenians still held Naupactos as a base of operations at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth, and they had not restored to Corinth the places which they had taken from her and handed over to the Acarnanians.³ The men and ships which Athens sent to Acarnania, to Ætolia, to the Ionian Islands,⁴ bore witness to the importance which she attached to all the districts which commanded the routes to the west. Furthermore, at the call of Leontion, the Athenians had crossed to Sicily, drawn by the agricultural wealth of the country and wishing to prevent the despatch of corn to the Peloponnesians.⁵ When, in 424, the Sicilian cities had had the wisdom to conclude a general peace, the Athenian commanders were sentenced to penalties for not having succeeded in placing Sicily under Athenian domination;⁶ and when war broke out again in Sicily the Athenians hastened to send ambassadors to conclude new alliances with the cities of Sicily and Great Greece.⁷

So Athenian policy was not calculated to allay the fears of Corinth, which would not accept peace, any more than Megara and Boeotia. Since Sparta abandoned the struggle and went so far as to sign a pact of alliance with Athens,⁸ the disappointed Corinth worked to form a new Peloponnesian

¹ Thuc., iv. 108.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 30; iv. 49; v. 30.

⁴ Acarnania: Thuc., ii. 68, 80, 85, 102-3; iii. 7, 105-14; iv. 49; Ætolia: Thuc., i. 94-6, 100-2; Corcyra and Ionian Islands: Thuc., ii. 30; iii. 69, 85; iv. 46-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 86; Diod., xii. 53-4.

⁶ Thuc., iv. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 4-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 23-4.

league, excluding Sparta, with Argos at its head.¹ Argos had remained neutral; now she let herself be drawn by the idea of supplanting Sparta. The reappearance on the scene of Argos, the traditional enemy of Sparta and ally of Athens, could only reawaken the old rivalries and the old quarrels in the Peloponnese, which the war had for a time united round Sparta. Conflicts broke out on all sides, between Parrhasians and Mantineians,² between Lacedæmonians and Eleians,³ between Argives and Epidaurians.⁴ It was inevitable that the complications of Peloponnesian politics should be exploited by the advocates of war, who were still numerous in Sparta,⁵ no less than in Athens.⁶ Already there were complaints on both sides that the treaty had not been observed. The Spartans had been unwilling or unable to restore Amphipolis to the Athenians;⁷ the Bœotians refused to evacuate Panaetion and dismantled the fortress;⁸ the Athenians kept Pylos and reinstalled the Messenians and Helots who had been temporarily removed.⁹ The Athenian who negotiated the peace, Nicias, was himself compelled to acknowledge the brittleness of the agreements.¹⁰ His political opponent, Alcibiades, by causing the Athenians to vote for alliance with Argos¹¹—which immediately threw Corinth into the arms of Sparta¹²—hoped by the same act to bring about a resumption of war. When the Mantineians carried their allies with them against their eternal enemies, the Tegeans, and the latter summoned to their aid their old allies of Laconia, 4,000 Laconian hoplites and 1,000 Athenian hoplites met on the field of Mantinea (418).¹³ The two cities were, in fact, at war. In 418 Alcibiades caused the stele which bore the treaty to be engraved with the statement that the Lacedæmonians had broken their oaths.¹⁴ Athenians and Spartans proclaimed that booty taken from the enemy was a lawful prize.¹⁵ It was a pure legal fiction which dated the resumption of war in 414, on the day on which, for the first time since 421, the Athenians made an inroad on the Spartans' own territory.¹⁶

¹ Thuc., v. 27.

² *Ibid.*, v. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 49-50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 36-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 21, 35.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 35, 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vi. 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, v. 43-7.

¹² *Ibid.*, v. 48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, v. 68, 71.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 115.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 105; vii. 18; cf. v. 25.

For another reason Athens was obliged to conduct an imperialist policy, which was equally detrimental to peace. Sea empire was necessary to Athens because for a long time the many costs of democratic government had been partly borne by the treasure of the allies. Now, the war had increased expenses. The siege of Potidæa, for example, had cost 2,000 talents,¹ and the upkeep of a fleet of as many as 250 triremes required a great financial effort.² Since the government wisely refused to touch its reserves,³ money had to be found somewhere. It was obtained from the citizens; in 428 the first war-tax was levied, the first *εἰσφορά*.⁴ It was obtained from the allies; between 431 and 421 the tribute was doubled,⁵ and the burden was made the heavier for the cities which bore it by the fact that the distant towns of Caria and Lycia were already trying to free themselves from the alliance of Athens, and only consented to pay under the pressure of Athenian squadrons.⁶ So the fate of Athens was bound by her financial needs to the empire. No defection could be suffered. Everybody agreed that the revolt of Mytilene deserved exemplary chastisement, and the only difference was about the mode of execution.⁷ Indeed, it was necessary to extend the empire as much as possible. The Melians, who claimed to remain neutral, were threatened first in 426,⁸ and again in 416, when they were ordered to join the Athenians. On their refusal, the Athenians cynically proclaimed the right of the stronger, took possession of the island, and installed Athenian Cleruchs.⁹ The need for increasing the empire for the sake of the resources of Athens caused a revival of the projects on Sicily, which had often been debated, but hitherto set aside. In 415 Alcibiades obtained a decision in favour of a great expedition. The object was, not merely to interfere in the quarrels of the Sicilian cities, but to commence the conquest of the island, as a prelude to more extensive conquests, and to secure the possession of the western districts which could supply Athens with what she wanted—corn, timber for the fleet, and money.¹⁰

The immediate consequence of the Sicilian expedition was

¹ Thuc., ii. 70; iii. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 19.

⁶ Thuc., ii. 69; cf. iii. 19; iv. 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 91.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 17.

⁵ Plut., *Arist.*, 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 84–114, 116.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 36–50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iv. 90.

the resumption of war. Corinth, which was more interested in checking Athenian expansion than any other city, and had never signed the peace, responded to the call of Syracuse at once.¹ Sparta, being asked to create a diversion in Attica, was at first content with sending a general to the Syracusans, but, being egged on by Alcibiades and the war party, she declared herself, in consequence of one of the many raids which she had endured since 421, in a state of lawful defence.² In the spring of 413 the Spartan army again invaded Attica, and established itself there permanently, occupying and fortifying Deceleia.³ The last hesitations of the Spartans had been removed by the news which came from Sicily. The Athenian army was wearing itself out before Syracuse without being able to force a decision; the honest but timid Nicias was constantly sending home gloomy reports and requests for reinforcements. The army of relief was unable to save the expedition; the siege was raised and the retreat ended in disaster.

As soon as the allies saw the power of Athens broken, they dared to think of defection, and hastened to call upon the Spartans.⁴ Sparta took long to understand that the best way to strike Athens was to raise the Athenian empire against her. She had refused, at the beginning of the war, to receive Lesbos into the Peloponnesian alliance.⁵ She had not listened to the Ionians, when they advised that the fleet, which had arrived too late to save Mytilene, should seize a town in Asia and call the subjects of Athens to revolt.⁶ She had not supported the skilful policy of Brasidas, who presented himself to the cities of Chalcidice as a deliverer who respected all constitutions.⁷ In 412 she still hesitated, from dislike of distant campaigns and the fear that a maritime city (in other words, Corinth) would assume, as Athens had done long ago, the direction of the war.⁸ Alcibiades had practically to force the hand of the Spartan government by sailing to Ionia himself.⁹ The result was a rapid and brilliant success; on the arrival of the Peloponnesian fleet, first the cities of Ionia, and then those of the Hellespont, changed sides. The Athenian empire fell to pieces.

¹ Thuc., vi, 88.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 88-93, 105; vii. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 5-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 86, 108.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii. 12.

The revolt heralded defeat. Athens no longer had enough men or money. It is hard to believe that the few years of comparative peace which followed the treaty of 421 were sufficient to fill the gaps created by the plague of 430-427¹ and ten years of war.² It was a very imperfectly restored Athens that plunged into the costly Sicilian adventure, and the disaster exhausted the population beyond repair. The courageous efforts of Athens to maintain military and naval forces in the waters of Ionia made the shortage of effectives daily more acute. The fleet which won the victory of Arginusæ was manned with all the fit men left, citizens, Metics, and slaves.³ The Sicilian expedition had, moreover, almost emptied the treasury, which no longer received the contributions of the allies or the output of the mines of Laureion, the working of which was hampered by the occupation of Deceleia.⁴ Resources were sought in vain. In 413 the tribute was replaced by a duty of one-twentieth on sea trade, which was expected to yield more.⁵ In 410 ships were stationed at Chrysopolis to levy a toll on vessels going through the Hellespont.⁶ Athens had to break in on her reserves,⁷ and even to send the gold offerings on the Acropolis to the melting-pot.⁸ At the very time when she was behind-hand with the pay of the rowers, and desertions compelled Conon to dismantle thirty triremes,⁹ the Spartans obtained from Cyrus the Younger sufficient funds to maintain their fleet.¹⁰ Between an exhausted Athens and a Sparta supported by the contingents of her allies and the gold of Persia, the decision was no longer doubtful. Sooner or later, Athens would be defeated. One luckless battle was enough to complete her downfall; the defeat of Ægos Potamos (405) placed her at the mercy of the victor.

3. THE HEGEMONIES OF SPARTA AND OF THEBES

Sparta emerged victorious from a war into which she had been drawn by events rather than by her wish. What use would she make of her victory? Would she take up the

¹ Thuc., iii. 87.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 12.

³ Xen., *Hell.*, i. 6. 24; Diod., xiii. 197; Ar., *Frogs*, 33, 190, 693, and Schol.

⁴ Thuc., vi. 91; cf. vii. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 28.

⁶ Xen., *Hell.*, i. 1. 22.

⁷ Thuc., viii. 15.

⁸ *XI*, xii (1888), pp. 283 ff.; Schol. on Ar., *Frogs*, 720.

⁹ Xen., *Hell.*, i. 5. 4, 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 5. 6-7.

inheritance of Athens, and, with the liberated allies, construct a Spartan empire on the same basis? This was the advice of Lysander, the victor of Ægos Potamos, the only great statesman whom Sparta ever possessed. He had kept all the virtues of the Spartan of old time. In spite of the adulation of the Ionians, who dedicated festivals and altars to him,¹ he made no change in his simple manner of life, and in the midst of the delights of the Asiatic cities he remained sober, temperate, and disdainful of pleasure.² He was scrupulously upright³ in a city in which magistrates took bribes openly;⁴ he sent the whole balance of the Persian subsidy to Sparta—470 talents—without deducting an obol.⁵ Reared in poverty, he died poor, so poor that his daughters, as dowerless orphans, were cynically deserted by the men to whom they were betrothed.⁶ But this Spartan of the mould of Lycurgos had neither the lack of initiative nor the narrow mind of his fellow-countrymen. He knew that a state could not detach its interest from all that went on beyond the frontier without abdicating its power. He knew that Athens had been able to aspire to hegemony because she had accepted the national mission of defending the Greeks against the barbarians, and that Sparta might expect the same advantages from the same broad and generous policy. He perceived also that Sparta could not change her foreign policy without adapting her internal organization to the new conditions; the reform of the Spartan kingship, plans for which were found among the papers of Lysander,⁷ was probably only the starting-point of a great constitutional reform.

After his victory, Lysander wanted to substitute Sparta for Athens at the head of Asiatic and island Greece. In the liberated cities he established a system which revived the previous organization in the interest of Sparta. He replaced the Athenian *Episcopos* by a Lacedæmonian *Harmost*.⁸ For the democratic institutions established by Athens he substituted oligarchic government, in which the power was entrusted to ten citizens.⁹ The cities paid tribute to Sparta

¹ Plut., *Lys.*, 18.

² Ath., xii. 543B.

³ Plut., *Lys.*, 2.

⁴ Arist., *Rhet.*, iii. 18. 6; Paus., iv. 5. 4.

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 3. 8.

⁶ Plut., *Lys.*, 2, 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-6, 30.

⁸ A comparison already observed by the Greek historians; Harp., s.v. *ἐπισκοπος*.

⁹ Xen., *Hell.*, ii. 2. 6-8; Plut., *Lys.*, 13.

as they used to do to Athens.¹ It was still a sea empire, but a Spartan empire. Moreover, this empire naturally must, as before, be protected against any attempt on the part of Persia. Now, Persia had taken advantage of the Peloponnesian War to reappear on the stage, in the hope that the obliteration of Athens would enable her to retake the cities of Asia. She had drawn towards Sparta,² and, after the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus had for a time carried on their policy of playing the two adversaries off against one another, Cyrus the Younger adopted one of frank and fast alliance with Sparta. To him Lysander was in great part indebted for his victories. But neither Cyrus, who wanted the help of Sparta for the expedition which he was already planning against his brother, nor Lysander, who did not abandon his project of sea empire for Sparta, raised the question of the Greeks of Asia, which, if put definitely, would have made agreement impossible. Indeed, Cyrus protected the Greek cities against the efforts of Tissaphernes,³ and thus gained the sympathies of the Greeks and the official support of Sparta.⁴ The defeat of Cunaxa and the death of Cyrus put an end to any ambiguities in the understanding between Persians and Spartans. Tissaphernes, reinstated as satrap, at once attempted to extend the king's authority over the Greek cities of Asia, and the latter addressed an urgent appeal to the Spartans as "the protectors of all Greece."⁵ Lysander caused war to be declared, and his friends and officers, Thibron and Dercyllidas, and his protégé Agesilaos were entrusted with operations in Asia Minor. The protection of the Greeks of Asia,⁶ with an attempt to treat them with consideration and justice,⁷ and war against Persia—here was the great national policy, resumed, on the advice of Lysander, in the interest of Sparta.

However, this policy was so little in accordance with the Spartan spirit that it met with opposition at Sparta itself from the very beginning.⁸ The Spartan government always had the same fear of the repercussions of foreign policy on the situation at home. The population had dwindled still further. Property was tending to concentrate in the hands

¹ Diod., xiv. 10.

² Xen., *Anab.*, i. 1.

³ Xen., *Hell.*, iii. 1. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 1. 8; 2. 6.

⁵ Thuc., viii. 18, 37, 58-9.

⁶ Xen., *Hell.*, i. 1. 1; *Anab.*, i. 9. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 2. 20.

⁸ Plut., *Lys.*, 19.

of a few,¹ especially since a decision of the Ephor Epitadeus had made testaments and deeds of gift lawful.² The inequality of wealth increased. The leading men were suspected, not without reason, of taking bribes abroad. Gylippos, the saviour of Syracuse, robbed the State.³ The irreproachable Lysander was regarded as a second Pausanias; the Spartan government chose to see in him nothing but vulgar ambition, and Agesilaos undertook to return him to his original rank. One might say that the decline of the city of Sparta began with her victory over Athens.⁴

So the great imperial projects supported by Lysander were not understood. The conservative Spartans would not go beyond a policy which they considered almost too bold, since it went outside the frontiers of the Peloponnese—to maintain the preponderance of Sparta by imposing oligarchic governments on the cities of European Greece, and, if necessary, to support the pro-Spartan aristocracies by Lacedæmonian garrisons. But this policy, conducted with the severity of maladroitness of the military mind, raised opponents to Sparta in every city. Persia, which wished to rid the east of Spartan troops for good, took advantage of the general discontent and combined against Sparta Athens, which was trying to recover, and the Greek cities which chafed under the Spartan yoke.⁵ The Spartan government was thereby thrown back on the policy to which it was already disposed; to recover the advantage in Europe, it abandoned Asia. In the negotiations conducted at Susa by Antalcidas, Sparta recognized the authority of the king over the Greeks of Asia, but obtained, by the prohibition of any combination of cities under one sovereignty, the maintenance of her own hegemony.⁶ The “King’s Peace,”⁷ in which later generations, rather than contemporaries,⁸ saw the great betrayal of the Spartans, marks the end of Sparta’s attempt at a great policy; Sparta definitely chose hegemony in Greece instead of the sea empire bequeathed by Athens. But, having seen Athens recovering and the cities almost

¹ Plato, *Alc.*, 122D–123A; Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6. 10–11. ² Plut., *Agis*, 5.

³ Diod., xiii. 106; Plut., *Lys.*, 16; Ath., vi. 234A.

⁴ Plut., *Agis*, 5; cf. *Lyc.*, 30. ⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, iv. 2. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 1. 31.

⁷ *II*, ii. 51, l. 22.

⁸ Compare the opinion of Xenophon (*Hell.*, v. 35–6) and those of Isocrates (xii. 103–7) and Plutarch (*Agis.*, 23; *Artax.*, 21).

escaping from her own control, she thought fit to apply her methods of interference more harshly than ever, and Spartan generals further exceeded the instructions of their government, in the certainty of not being repudiated if they succeeded.¹ As it grew more and more aggressive and brutal, Spartan policy aroused hatred everywhere ; a single incident was enough for Greece to ignore the King's Peace and to rise again.

The signal for revolt was given by Bœotia. There as elsewhere Sparta relied on the differences of cities and the conflicts of parties. In accordance with the King's Peace, she had enforced the dissolution of the Bœotian League, and she had, with the help of the aristocrats, placed a garrison in the fort of Thebes. But, just when she might think herself mistress of Greece,² the Theban democrats, by a successful surprise, re-entered their city and drove out the Spartan garrison. Revolutions of the kind were fairly common events in the life of Greek cities, and Sparta had often succeeded in interfering and imposing the government of her choice. This time the consequences of the incident were to surpass expectations. The Theban democrats restored the Bœotian League, obtained the help of Athens, thanks to the very clumsiness of the Spartans, and felt strong enough to adopt a policy which was independent even of their allies. Sparta wished to strike one great blow and to impose her authority by a victory, but she had not reckoned on the courage of the Theban soldiers and the military genius of their general, Epaminondas. At Leuctra the invincible Spartan army was defeated in the open field, and with her military prestige Sparta at once lost her political preponderance. Thebes in her turn, through this one victory, found herself at the head of the Greek cities.

Thebes extended her activities all over the Greek world. She intervened in the Peloponnese, helping the Arcadians to organize themselves and liberating the Messenians, and Megalopolis and Messene arose to watch Sparta. She involved herself in the affairs of northern Greece, sending armies to Thessaly and acting as mediatrix between the pretenders to the throne of Macedonia. She even had designs on maritime

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, v. 2. 32 ; 4. 20-33.

² *Ibid.*, v. 3. 27.

Greece. Athens, which had profited by the Theban alliance to form a new confederacy on very moderate lines, was encouraged by first successes to resume the practices of the old sea empire, and when she saw Thebes triumphant she drew towards Sparta. Epaminondas, to punish the faithless ally, equipped a fleet, cruised in the Ægean, and sailed as far as Byzantium, inciting the allies of Athens to desert. The prestige of Thebes was so great that the Great King welcomed Pelopidas at his court with the good will which he had once shown and now refused to Antalcidas.¹

But was Thebes capable of playing a part in which Athens and Sparta had already failed? Even within Bœotia she had difficulty in effecting unity, and only obtained obedience by pitilessly crushing the resistance of Orchomenos and Platæa. In the Peloponnese, which was liberated from Sparta but given over to anarchy, she had had to intervene in the political conflicts and to establish Harmosts and garrisons to restrain the hostile parties.² She encountered the same difficulties and the same hatred as Sparta before her; the sudden arrest of the delegates of Arcadia by the Theban commanders³ was disagreeably like the surprise of Phœbidas on the Cadmeia. Thebes, like Sparta, relied on her military strength, but the army, being obliged to fight everywhere and incessantly, became exhausted. In reality the superiority of Thebes lay in the personal superiority of her two leaders, Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Trained by the philosophers to a simple and almost ascetic life, skilled in bodily exercises and passionately devoted to intellectual culture, a great orator and a great captain, but even more remarkable for his moral qualities, his modesty, his frankness, and his humanity, Epaminondas deserved to be taken by the ancients as the finest type of the Greek genius.⁴ But when Pelopidas was killed in the Thessalian campaign in 364, and Epaminondas fell in the moment of victory at Mantinea in 362, there was no one at Thebes to carry on their work and to keep the city in the high position to which they had raised it.

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, vii. 1. 33-8; Plut., *Artax.*, 22.

² Xen., *Hell.*, vii. 1. 43. ³ *Ibid.*, vii. 4. 40.

⁴ Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 2. 4.

4. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

After Mantinea, general weariness drove the cities to restore peace. All had ruined themselves, without any one being able to realize in its own interest, even in an imperfect form, the unity of Greece. None was left which could even dream of empire. Athens, which had suffered least, was content to enjoy the prosperity which her trade brought her, and for this trade she no longer wanted anything but peace. The old states had exhausted their strength; there was no future but for the young states which had hitherto stood aside from the affairs of Greece. After Mantinea, the states of the north appear on the scene. Jason of Pheræ had already tried to form a strong, united state in Thessaly, to combine the whole of central Greece, under his control, round the sanctuary of Delphi,¹ and to lead the Greek forces in an attack on the Persian empire.² These projects were to be taken up and realized by the kings of Macedonia.

Thus Thessaly, and after it Macedonia, took their place among the Greek powers; yet they were, and always remained, only partially Greek states. The Greeks did not regard the Macedonians as a pure Hellenic people. The mythical pedigrees in which they expressed their ethnical theories did not agree about the ancestors of Macedon, the imaginary eponym. Some made him the grandson of Pelasgos;³ others, the son of Æolos⁴ or brother of Magnes.⁵ What is certain, is that at the time of the Peloponnesian War the Macedonians were considered as barbarians.⁶ Only the kings were regarded as Greeks, ruling over a foreign people.⁷ Even the claim of the kings to be of Hellenic race,⁸ though recognized by the *Hellānodikai* of Olympia,⁹ was based on a genealogy as fanciful as that which connected the princes of Orestis with Orestes and those of Lyncestis with the Bacchiads;¹⁰ the Argeads were not Heracleidæ from the Peloponnesian Argos, but sprang from the Argos in Orestis.¹¹

If the Macedonians were regarded as barbarians, it was

¹ Xen., *Hell.*, vi. 4. 28-32.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 1. 12.

³ Apollod., iii. 8. 1; Ael., *N. A.*, x. 48.

⁴ Hellanic., fr. 46.

⁵ Hes., fr. 26.

⁶ Thuc., ii. 80-1; cf. ii. 29; Isocr., v. 108.

⁷ Hdt., v. 20; Isocr., v. 108.

⁸ Hdt., ix. 45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 22.

¹⁰ Strabo, vii. 7. 8.

¹¹ App., *Syr.*, 63; **XXX**, s.v. *Argeaden*.

because the Greeks did not understand their language. Unfortunately, nothing survives of Macedonian to enable us to compare it with the Hellenic dialects. Greek was the language of the aristocracy and court so early that Macedonian, which the people spoke, was never written, and modern scholars, who do not possess a line of it, cannot even conjecture whether it was "a very aberrant Greek dialect or a wholly distinct Indo-European language."¹ It is highly probable that the Macedonian people was born of a mixture of heterogeneous tribes, that a "Pelasgian"—i.e., pre-Hellenic—people had mingled with Thracian and Illyrian immigrants, and even, perhaps, that Greek elements had penetrated to the country² long before the colonists of Chalcis and Corinth Hellenized the coasts.

Macedonia was not at all like Greece. The country consisted of two regions, the plain of Lower Macedonia, between the mountains and the Thermaic Gulf, on the mouths of the Axios and the Haliacmon, and the hill cantons of Upper Macedonia, closed basins surrounded by wooded mountains and connected by rivers—Lyncestis in the north, watered by the Erigon, Orestis in the centre, round the lake of Celetron, and Elimiotis in the south, on the middle reaches of the Haliacmon. The muddy soil, the deposit of lakes or rivers, was fertile and yielded good harvests, and the rivers ensured moisture to the pastures on which herds of horses grazed. The coasts, silted up by the rivers, were low and swampy. The climate tended to be continental and humid; Macedonia produced vines, but no olives. Only in Chalcidice—the Greek colonists had made no mistake—did one find, with the rocky, indented coasts and the brush and olive-groves, the scenery and vegetation of the Mediterranean.

Even more than the country, the social and political life of Macedonia differed from that of Greece. The population, composed of peasants, stock-raisers or husbandmen, dwelt in open villages³ and was unacquainted with city life. Even the capitals, such as Ægæ or Pella, were not cities in the Hellenic manner, for they had no political organization. For Macedonia was not an association of cities, but a monarchy. Yet the king was not a despot of the Oriental type; his

¹ XLV, pp. 53-4, 272.

² Hdt., i. 56; viii. 43.

³ Thuc., ii. 100; iv. 124.

subjects were free men whom monarchic sentiment united in a nation about the sovereign.¹ Beneath the king, the nobility enjoyed great influence, which it owed to its immense estates.² The Macedonian nobles lived an active but rather coarse life on their domains; they loved riding and hunting passionately, and their only relaxations from these violent exercises were great banquets and interminable carouses. Being brutal and pugnacious, they readily went to war; the cavalry, provided by the nobles, formed the backbone of the army,³ and was without its equal.⁴ Supported by the peasants who tilled their land, the Macedonian nobles were almost independent of the king. The mountainous country of Upper Macedonia, in particular, was composed of what were practically feudal principalities, more or less closely attached to the king,⁵ but retaining their national chiefs.⁶

The Macedonian state was a creation of the royal dynasty of the Argeads. Won over to Hellenic culture at an early date, the kings endeavoured to civilize their people and to endow their kingdom with stable institutions in imitation of the Greek cities. This work was carried on with energy at the end of the Vth century by Archelaos,⁷ who laid roads, built fortresses, organized the army, and at the same time acted, like a true Hellene, as the protector of art and letters, the entertainer of Zeuxis and Euripides. But the organization was only completed with the appearance of Philip. Philip combined the Greek and the barbarian in one man. He charmed the Greeks by his eloquence and his pleasant manners, while he gratified the Macedonians by his bravery, his strength and endurance, and his passion for sport and wine. He had a discerning mind. He saw the strong and the weak points of his opponents. He knew how to judge men, and he surrounded himself with excellent fellow-workers. He displayed an unwearying activity, which no set-back could discourage, but it was a reflective activity, which could bide its time, turn obstacles which could not be overcome by frontal attack, and supplement force by cunning and even by the attraction of gold. He organized the military forces of the Macedonian state, creating, by the side of the

¹ *XL*, xxi (1907), pp. 97-8.

² Theopomp., *ap. Ath.*, vi. 261A.

³ *Thuc.*, iv. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 100; *Xen., Hell.*, v. 2. 41-3.

⁵ *Thuc.*, ii. 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 80; *Xen., Hell.*, v. 2. 38.

⁷ *Thuc.*, ii. 100.

cavalry, a strong infantry. The national army combined all classes of the population in a body permanently centred on the king as war leader, both the nobles, who still furnished the cavalry, and the peasants, who served in the phalanx. He imposed his authority on the nobility by attaching it to his personal service ; the sons of great families served as pages, and the commands were reserved for the nobles, who, living at the court, became personally known to the sovereign. Finally, he made the unity of the kingdom more complete by reducing the semi-independent cantons to obedience ; the old feudal principalities became mere territorial divisions for administration and recruiting. By his internal reforms, Philip was the true founder of the Macedonian state ; by his foreign policy, he was to set it at the head of the Greek world.

For posterity, the struggle between Athens and Macedonia has taken on the air of a classical tragedy. There are two great characters, Philip and Demosthenes, both embodying passions and ideas which are eternally human, the one driven by the desire to dominate, the other sacrificing all to country and honour. The action is united and simple ; events are directed by the protagonists, changes of fortune arise from the collision of characters, and the unravelling inspires our admiration and pity for the heroic loser. This vision of the last glorious days of Athens has been imposed on us by the eloquence of Demosthenes. The policy of the two opponents was really less simple and less ideal.

Philip was before all a Macedonian king, concerned with the interests of Macedon. Certainly he was ambitious, and his ambition steadily increased. As soon as a Greek state was aware of its strength, it aspired to hegemony, and very naturally took up the policy of the state which had previously held dominion. Just like Epaminondas, whom he had studied at close quarters during his three years' sojourn at Thebes as a hostage, Philip intervened in Thessaly, and made himself the protector of the towns in the Peloponnese opposed to Sparta. But the affairs of Greece, though they might serve his policy, were not the chief reason of it. This policy was the result of the conditions which nature and man had made for the Macedonian state. Macedonia was born inland, in the upper valleys of the rivers which flowed into the Thermaic Gulf ; the royal family was from Orestis. To

expand, the Macedonian state had to come out of these closed basins and descend to the maritime plain; it could not pretend to be Greek if it had no outlet on the sea. On its land frontiers, on the other hand, it was exposed to inroads of barbarians. On the east, the kingdom of the Odrysians stretched from the Strymon to the Propontis, and, notwithstanding internal crises and quarrels over the succession, it was a redoubtable enemy for Macedonia. The Macedonians were obliged to be constantly driving the Thracians further back, and eventually they came in this way to the Hellespont. There they came into contact with the Persian empire, and the king could not see without uneasiness a great power establishing itself so near the coasts of Asia. When Philip wished to assume, like the other great powers, the protection of the Asiatic Greeks, he had to secure the free passage from Europe to Asia by the Hellespont. Wherever Macedonian expansion took him, Philip encountered the Athenians. On the Thermaic Gulf and in Chalcidice, Athenian colonies or towns friendly to Athens shut him off from the sea, in Thrace the Odrysian princes were whole-hearted supporters of Athenian policy, and, lastly, Athens could not allow any state to take possession of the Hellespont. So Philip found himself in conflict with Athens without ever leaving Macedonia.

Nor was the policy of Demosthenes a purely sentimental one. Certainly the orator was sincere when he gave magnificent expression to the ideas which ennobled his action, love of liberty and sense of honour. But these did not make him forget the material interests of Athens. His policy was directed almost exclusively at the northern countries. He was connected with Scythia by birth; his grandfather, an Athenian who had settled at Nymphæon in the Crimea, had married a native woman.¹ By family tradition he was the personal friend of the princes of the Crimea, the "Archons of the Bosphorus," and, indeed, his enemies accused him of having sold himself to "tyrants."² He saw the importance of Scythian corn for the feeding of Athens,³ and the necessity for keeping the route from the Euxine open.⁴ He therefore followed with close attention the smallest intrigue at the court

¹ Æschin., *Ctes.*, 171-2.

³ Dem., *Lept.*, 467.

² Deinarch., *Dem.*, 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Crown*, 326.

of the Odrysian kings and the smallest expedition of mercenaries in the Thracian country, and the gapers of Athens were amazed at the passionate interest he took in villages or forts whose very name they did not know.¹ He opposed Philip because the latter threatened communications between Athens and the north,² and against Macedon he was prepared to serve the interests of Persia.³ In the calculations of Demosthenes Greece took second place. He might seek in Greece a means for immobilizing his opponent, but the important question for him was supremacy in Thracian waters and the possession of the Hellespont.

Thus, for both adversaries, Greece was a pawn in the diplomatic game, not the stake. But the interconnexion of all Greek politics led Philip, like Thebes and like Sparta, to intervene in all internal and external affairs, and, like his predecessors, he could not stop until he had extended his authority over the whole of Greece. He created the sea front which Macedonia needed by capturing the Greek cities of the coast. Amphipolis, the Athenian colonies, and Olynthos fell before Athens would or could intervene. Then, while the Sacred War drew general attention on Phocis, Philip reduced the Odrysians and subjugated the ally of Athens, Cersobleptes. Finally, he tried to secure the Hellespont, where Demosthenes had succeeded in regaining the friendship of the coast towns. He besieged Byzantium, and, without declaring war, he seized the Athenian ships which had collected, as usual, at Hieron to form the corn convoy for Athens.⁴ This violation of the law of nations aroused the indignation of the Athenians, who resolved to make a serious effort. Their intervention saved Byzantium. But Philip, having his hands free in the north, raised a diversion in central Greece. He had, by very skilful diplomacy, secured support even among his victims the Phocians.⁵ He profited by it to establish himself unexpectedly in Elateia. The danger united the Thebans and Athenians. But, as at Ægos Potamos, as at Leuctra, the question of hegemony had to be settled on the battle-field; at Chæroneia, the Macedonian army established the triumph of Philip (338).

¹ Æschin., *Ctes.*, 82.

² *CLVII*, pp. 92-154.

³ *CLVIII*, pp. 533 ff.

⁴ Dem., *Crown*, 248, 254-5, 307.

⁵ *CXXXV*, p. 37.

The game was lost for Athens, and, at the same time, Greece recognized the hegemony of Philip. Already, after the first Sacred War, he had obtained, in his own person, two votes on the Amphictionic Council, and had thus taken his place among the powers of central Greece. A year after Chæroneia, a congress of the Greek cities, meeting at Corinth, offered Philip the presidency of the new league and the command of all the forces of Greece. A new period of Greek history begins.

CONCLUSION

THE city state—the Greek cities—had been conquered by the territorial state—the kingdom of Macedon. But the city system was too deeply rooted in Greece to be suddenly extirpated. At the moment when King Philip had, one may say, realized in his own interest the unity of European Greece, and Alexander was about to incorporate Asiatic Greece in it, we must see what this unity was, what it retained from the past, and what preparation it was making for the future.

Philip had extended Macedonia towards the sea, towards Thrace, and towards the barbarous regions of the interior, but, when he conquered Greece, he abstained from any annexation on that side. Even in Thessaly, where he was all-powerful, he was content to impose his protectorate on the towns and tetrarchies, which accepted his warmest supporters as their chiefs.¹ Still less, then, was Greece reduced to a province of Macedonia. The congress which met at Corinth in the autumn of 337 organized a league which, at first sight, does not appear to have been very different from the old confederacies, and was much more like the Peloponnesian League than the Athenian empire; that is, it resembled that one of the two great federations in which the federal bonds were the looser. The cities, great and small, kept full liberty of managing their internal affairs as they pleased; they did not pay tribute; they had an equal share in the decisions taken by the federal assembly. Philip, in his turn, had no more than hegemony;² he was the president of the league, and, above all, the military chief, the generalissimo of the Greek troops, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.³ Yet the Confederation of Corinth was only a pale reflection of the old leagues. For in fact, the cities, exhausted and ruined, were incapable of resisting, however

¹ CLVIII, pp. 542–3.

² Diod., xvi. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 89; the same title given to Alexander: *Ibid.*, xvii. 4.

little, the wishes of Philip. The city continued to be self-governing, but the assembly of the people could no longer deal with foreign affairs, and only discussed trumpery matters of municipal administration. The city, as a political organism, was dying. Plato and Aristotle still knew no other political ideal than the city, but the new schools were already proclaiming that man finds everywhere a motherland in which he can fulfil his moral obligations, and that the wise man is a citizen of the world.

In fact, the Greek was breaking loose from his little country more and more, and from the mixture of all the Hellenic peoples a cosmopolitan population was being born. From the earliest times the Greek had travelled much, and every great town had contained a large foreign colony, but there was still more active coming and going after Philip's time. The Macedonian peace encouraged the movement of men and goods. The civil law speeches ascribed to Demosthenes show how commercial relations were interconnected, from Sicily to the Euxine and from Massalia to Rhodes and Egypt. In addition to those who visited foreign markets for their business there were those whom curiosity and the desire to learn drew to the intellectual capitals. Aristotle of Stageira came and settled in Athens, where he was succeeded in his teaching by Theophrastos of Eresos, who never succeeded in losing his foreign accent. Lastly, the cosmopolitan population was swelled, during the whole of the IVth century, by all those whom revolutions and civil wars had driven from their own country, banished men, leading a wandering, miserable life abroad. Their numbers increased so much as to cause concern to statesmen, who made plans for a resumption of colonization and the establishment of new cities in Thrace or Asia.¹ When, in 324, Alexander reopened the doors of their cities to the exiles, there were more than twenty thousand of them gathered at the Olympic Games, at which the royal letter was proclaimed.²

It was among these vagrants, these men without a country, ἀπόλιδες, that the bands of mercenaries were recruited.³ The development of the mercenary system is the characteristic feature of the military history of the IVth century, and that

¹ Isocr., v. 120 ; viii. 24.

² Diod., xviii. 8.

³ Isocr., v. 96 ; viii. 44.

which best shows the decline of city feeling and the progress of cosmopolitanism. The army of the Ten Thousand was a collection of the most motley kind. It was chiefly composed of Peloponnesians,¹ and the Achæans and Arcadians alone formed more than half of the contingent,² but there were also hoplites from Megara, Bœotia, Locris, Thessaly, and Athens, Dolopian, Ænianian, Olynthian, and Thracian peltasts, Cretan bowmen, Rhodian slingers, and Thracian cavalry; there were recruits from Asia and even from the distant parts of the Greece of the west, from Thurii and Syracuse. Each chief had recruited his men in his own way, without trying to raise a homogeneous corps from among his fellow-citizens; the Acarnanian Æschines commanded the light troops of the Spartan Cheirisophos.³ When the soldiers chose new leaders, they did not consider nationalities; the Thessalian Menon was succeeded by the Achæan Philesios, and Clearchos of Sparta by Timasion of Dardanos.⁴ All the bands of mercenaries presented the like variety. If Athens⁵ took fewer soldiers from the Peloponnese, she enrolled more in the islands and Asia. These bands formed round a chief, whose fame attracted recruits, and he treated with cities or rulers in the name of all. At the time of the Ten Thousand Cœratadas of Thebes went all over Greece in search of a city which wanted a general.⁶ At the end of the century the perfect type of *condottiere* was Charidemus of Oreos. This individual, who was of illegitimate birth, and had not even the citizenship in his own country, made a name as a leader of mercenaries, placed himself, with equal readiness, at the service of the Athenians, the Odrysian kings, or the Persian satraps, had no scruple in going over with all his men from one camp to another, and ended up as son-in-law of Cersobleptes and citizen of Athens.⁷

By the contact and mingling of Greeks from all parts, traders, travellers, exiles, mercenaries, a common civilization was formed. This was no longer a new thing, and we have already studied the elements which went to compose the moral unity of the Greek world from the VIth century onwards. The formation of Hellenism was completed in the

¹ Xen., *Anab.*, i. 1. 6.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 3. 22.

³ *II*, ii, 963.

⁴ Dem., *Arist.*, *passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 2. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 1. 47.

⁷ Xen., *Anab.*, vii. 1. 33.

IVth century. The clearest indication of it was the appearance of a common language. Multiplicity of dialects had gone with multiplicity of states. When a wider political system was set up, whether federation or empire, we have seen a linguistic unity develop; Bœotian and Attic, for example, covered a wider field than some Doric dialect spoken by a city shut up in itself. The city had now lost all importance; so the dialect spoken by the city was no more than a local form of speech, which could hardly hold its ground against an international language. The *κοινή*, a literary and social language, was used by all prose-writers, as by all public services; the rules of its grammar being laid down, it could be learned by all who aspired to culture.¹ Since the Athenian prose-writers enjoyed literary supremacy, the foundation of the *κοινή* was the Attic dialect, but, since it was spoken on all the shores of the Ægean and was the language of business men no less than of writers, the Attic foundation was modified by Ionic accretions.² Thus the *κοινή* was derived from the two languages of civilization which had preceded it, the Ionic of the VIth century and the Attic of the Vth and IVth. The local dialects, even when the cities kept them up officially in support of their last pretensions to independence, could not escape the influence of the *κοινή* and gradually disappeared.³

Linguistic unity was an expression of the fact that Hellenic unity was one of civilization. So the evolution which had begun long ago was continued and completed. The Greeks would never succeed in achieving their political unity. There would always be small states in Greece, even when the cities had altogether given up political life, and were no more than sleepy little provincial towns wrapped up in the antiquated working of their municipal institutions. But moral unity, which already appeared in the VIth century, grew stronger and stronger, as local differences merged in a common civilization, just as the Greek peoples mingled to form a Greek people. "There are many cities," said Poseidippos in the IIIrd century, "but there is only one Greece"—Ἑλλάς μὲν ἓστι μία, πόλεις δὲ πλείονες.⁴ The Greek had long been known by the language he spoke; now he was defined by

¹ XLV, pp. 262, 267.

² XLV, p. 275.

³ XLV, pp. 349, 353.

⁴ Ap. Dicæarch., *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 264.

his civilization. "We must give the name of Greeks," says Isocrates,¹ "to those who take part in our culture rather than to those who share our origin." The unity of the Greek people, then, was in no way a natural unity. It depended neither on geographical environment nor on race. Just as a nation has no other reality than the will of those who compose it, so the unity of the Greek people, under whatever name we may try to designate it, was a product of the free will of those who had adopted one same civilization.

But if Hellenism is solely a state of civilization, what becomes of the old distinction between Hellene and barbarian? Will not the Greek people have to receive "Gentiles" into its bosom? A national feeling had awakened in Greece with the war against Persia for the common safety. One might suppose, on reading the speeches of Isocrates, that this feeling still existed, uniting the Greeks round a leader against the same enemies. But these speeches, in which periods are balanced with the sole object of pleasing the ear, and arguments are taken indifferently from the most mythical times and the contemporary epoch, and Heracles² and Agamemnon³ rub shoulders with Jason of Pheræ and Philip of Macedon as champions of pan-Hellenism, are purely rhetorical works, which do not seem to have been heard outside a limited circle of literary men, or to have had the least influence on contemporary politics.

For a long time the King of Persia had been, not the hereditary enemy, but the dispenser of subsidies and the arbiter between cities. Even Philip's policy towards him had not been aggressive from the beginning. When Artaxerxes Ochus restored the Persian power, Philip, who wished to have his hands free in Thrace and Greece, signed a treaty of alliance with the Great King.⁴ The conflict arose from the pretensions of the King of Macedon to the Hellespont, on the borders of the Persian empire. When Philip took his fleet through the Hellespont and laid siege to Perinthos, Ochus instructed his satraps to go to the help of the Perinthians,⁵ and, after the deliverance of Perinthos, sent troops to Thrace.⁶ On this intervention, Philip, having conquered the

¹ Isocr., iv. 50. ² *Ibid.*, v. 76, 111, 112, 114. ³ *Ibid.*, xii. 76-7.

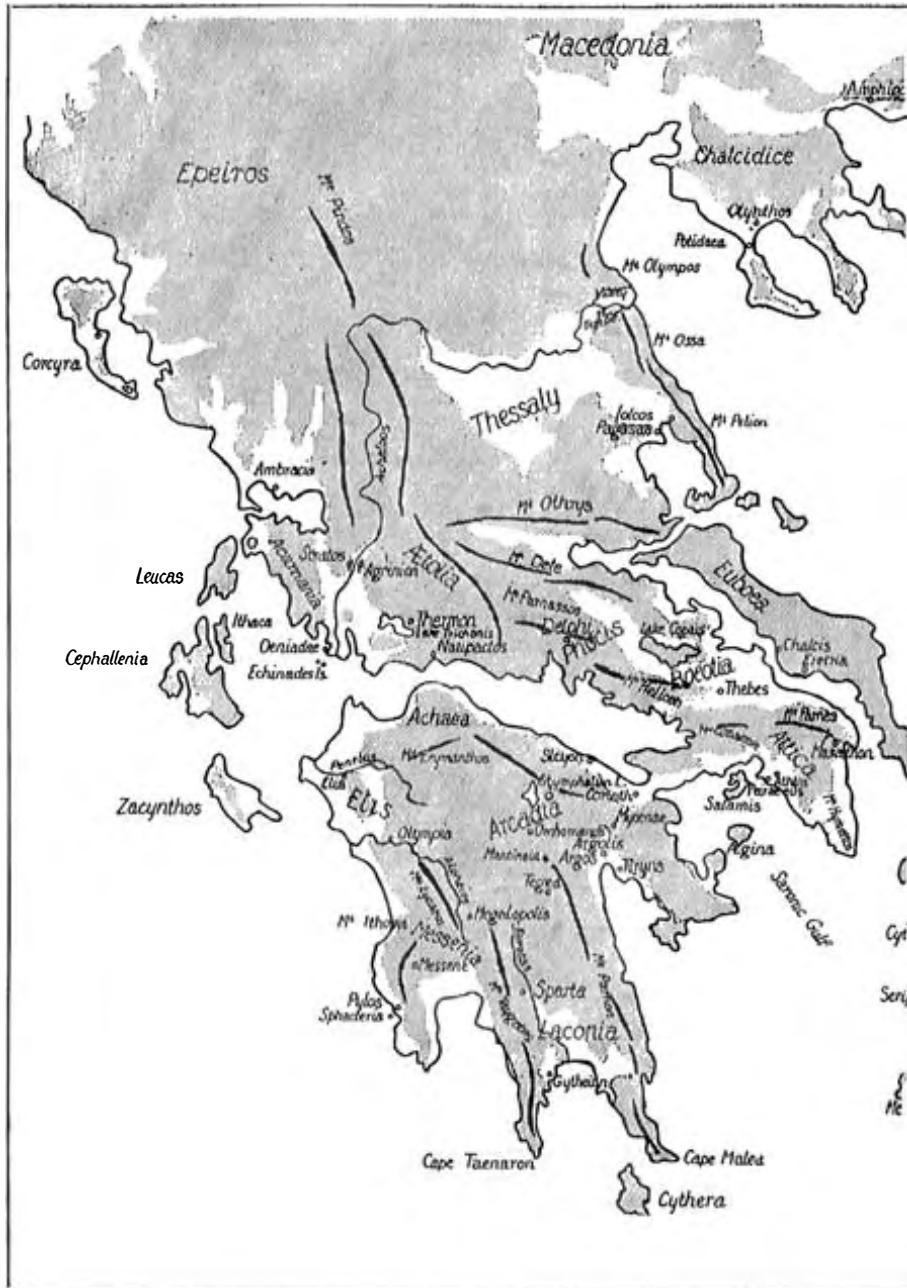
⁴ Arr., *Anab.*, ii. 14. 2; cf. Dem., *Phil.*, 54.

⁵ Diod., xvi. 75; Arr., *Anab.*, ii. 14. 5.

⁶ Arr., *Anab.*, ii. 14. 5.

Greeks, whom Ochus would not or could not help, replied by an attack on Asia Minor. No doubt the Greeks decided on the Asiatic war at Corinth; but the Greeks who followed Alexander, like those who had followed Cyrus the Younger, were not so much inspired by patriotic ardour as attracted by adventures and by the fabulous renown of the Persian treasures, which they dreamed of looting. In the opposing ranks Alexander's soldiers were to find twenty thousand other Greeks, faithfully serving the cause of the Great King. In the formation of Hellenic unity, therefore, national feeling had ceased to play an important part. No doubt the principle of the natural inferiority of the barbarian is most definitely formulated by Aristotle, but it is Aristotle, also, who expounds the theory of the city, that is, of a form already vanished.

So the unity of the Hellenic world was not sealed, as nationality so often is, by opposition to the foreigner, to the enemy. It was a kind of agreement on a single civilization, which was deemed superior. Now, civilization is transmissible; the Hellenized barbarian could find a place in the enlarged Hellenic world. Thus, at the moment when the Greek people was completing its formation and reaching moral unity, it was ready to take in foreign elements. From the contact of Greece and the East—a contact as fertile in the IIIrd century as it had been in the VIth—a new world was to emerge—Hellenistic Greece.



GREEK

The shaded portions represent



LANDS.

altitudes over 200 metres (657 feet).

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Certain English or recent editions have been added to this translation in square brackets; but the references in the text do not refer to the pages of these editions.

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1. AUTHORS

The following abbreviations may give rise to doubt.

Æl.	Ælian	Ath.	Athenæus
Æsch.	Æschylos	Dem.	Demosthenes
Æschin.	Æschines	Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Ar.	Aristophanes	Hes.	Hesiod
Ar. Byz.	Aristophanes of Byzantion	Hesych.	Hesychius
Arist.	Aristotle	Xen.	Xenophon
		Xenophan.	Xenophanes

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